CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZINE

The Beaver

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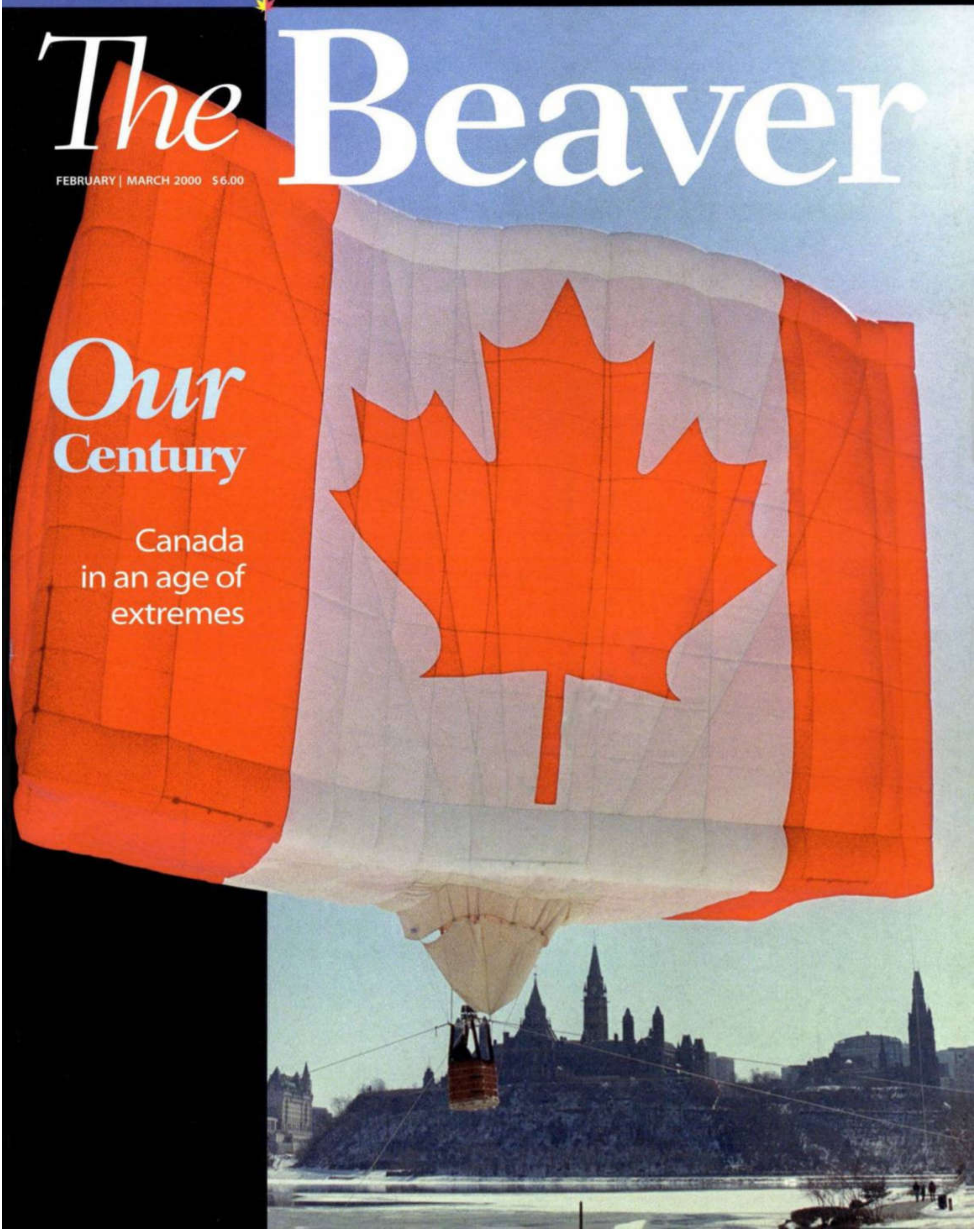

Our Century

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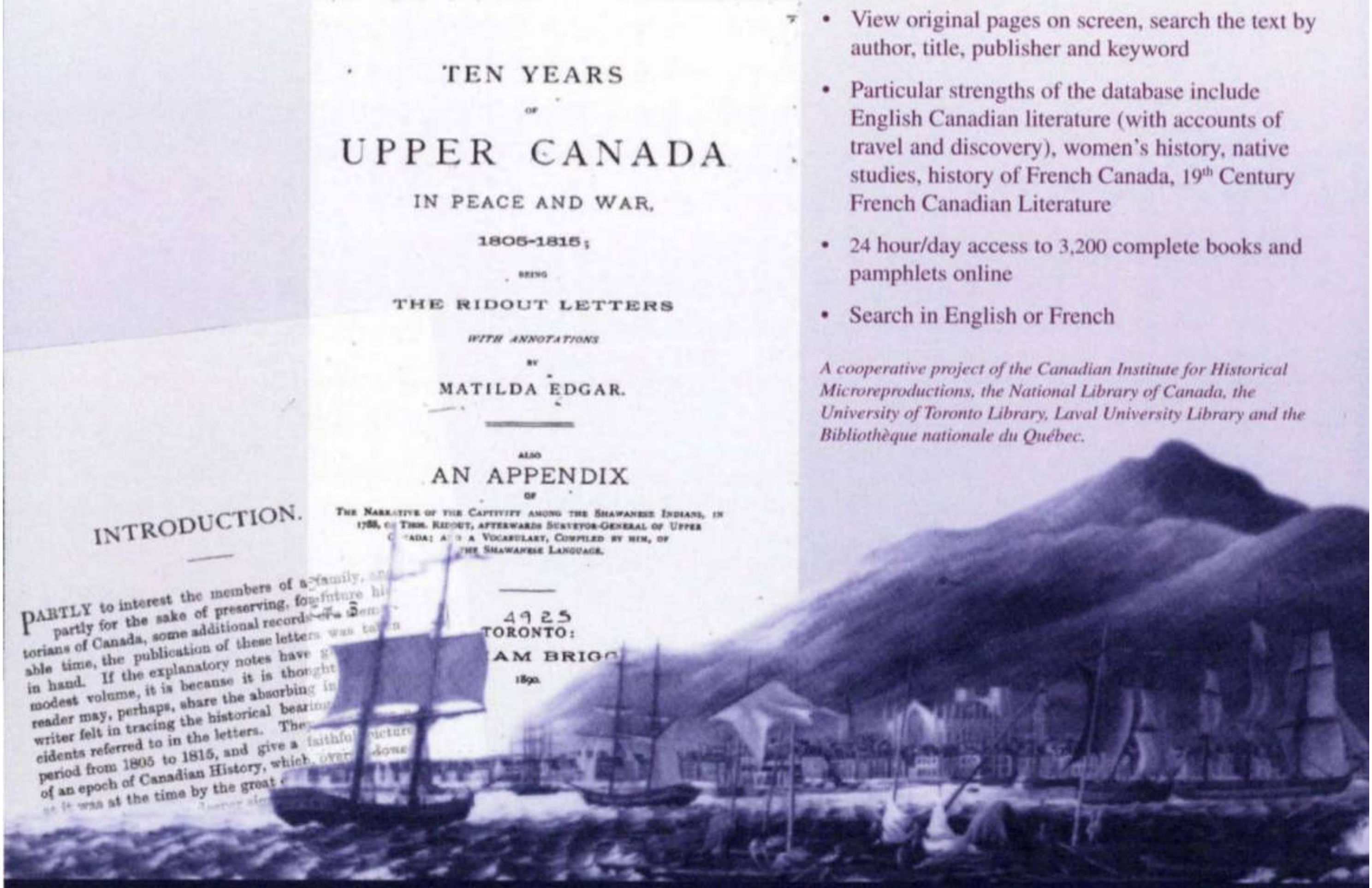

TEN YEARS
OF
UPPER CANADA
IN PEACE AND WAR,
1805-1815;
BEING
THE RIDOUT LETTERS
WITH ANNOTATIONS
BY
MATILDA EDGAR.

ALSO
AN APPENDIX
OF
THE NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY AMONG THE SHAWANESE INDIANS, IN 1788, OF THOS. RIDOUT, AFTERWARDS SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF UPPER CANADA; AND A VOCABULARY, COMPILED BY HIM, OF THE SHAWANESE LANGUAGE.

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1890.

INTRODUCTION.

PARTLY to interest the members of a family, and partly for the sake of preserving, for future historians of Canada, some additional records of the Dom… able time, the publication of these letters was taken in hand. If the explanatory notes have … modest volume, it is because it is thought … reader may, perhaps, share the absorbing in… writer felt in tracing the historical bearing… cidents referred to in the letters. The… period from 1805 to 1815, and give a faithful picture of an epoch of Canadian History, which, overdone … as it was at the time by the great …

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The Beaver
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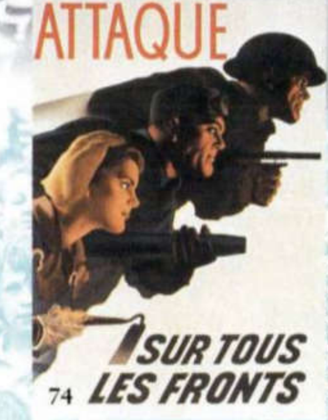
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On the cover: Canadian flag balloon floats over the Ottawa River across from Parliament Hill, March, 1998. Photography by Fred Chartrand / CP Picture Archive.

ANNALEE GREENBERG

Editor's Note

CONTEMPLATING

Contemplating
OUR CENTURY
Our Century

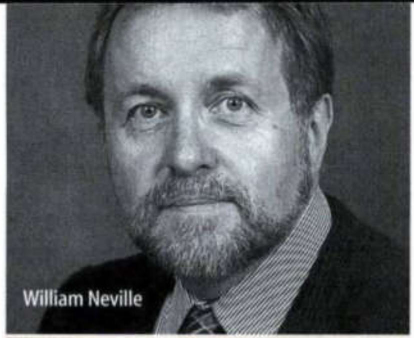
With this issue of the *Beaver*, we take a glance over our shoulder at the not-too-distant past. For not only does the big round number that signifies this year seem to demand we put things in their place, it asks that we consider a certain legacy.

Perhaps Sir Wilfrid Laurier didn't realize the challenge he was delivering when he stated, one day in 1904, that "the twentieth century belongs to Canada." And perhaps the power of this quote lay not so much in its prophecy, but in its inspiration. Indeed, at the beginning of the twentieth century all things seemed possible.

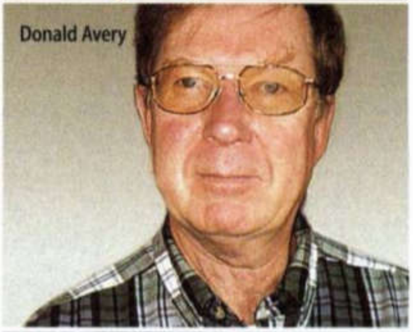
We can say that the nineteenth century was devoted to building the ideological and political foundation of the confederated nation called Canada. Its visionaries – men like Baldwin and Lafontaine, Macdonald and the other "fathers" – hammered away until they constructed a model for a country that was fair, forward thinking, and ready for the future.

But if Canada was forged in the nineteenth century, it was tested beyond anyone's imaginings in the twentieth. Forces outside Canadian control – the devastation of war, grueling depression, and more war – made their mark in the first half of the century. In the latter half, the vagaries of the international economy and the influence of the giant to the south shaped this vast, thinly populated nation more than perhaps we know. Meanwhile, forces of regionalism and nationalism churned within our borders. All of us have felt the collective impact of these forces either directly, or indirectly through the experiences that shaped our parents' and grandparents' lives.

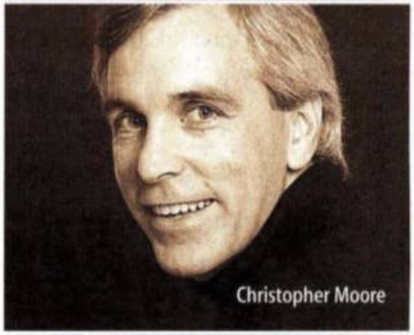
Yet we've responded to these influences in uniquely Canadian ways. In this special issue, Our Century, we've assembled a group of authorities to explore the many themes of the past hundred years, from business to family, politics to native land claims, consumerism to immigration, the military to arts and culture. We look at the chroniclers of Canada's story. Time lines that accompany each feature article, and photos, some never before published, reveal the transitions that have brought us through the past century to the threshold of an uncertain future.


William Neville

Olive Patricia Dickason


Donald Avery

Jack Granatstein


Christopher Moore

Suanne Kelman

Donald Avery looks at immigration. For the past thirty years, Avery has been a member of the University of Western Ontario history department, specializing in comparative and social history. He has published extensively in the fields of Canadian immigration, ethnic, and labour history, including his 1995 monograph, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers 1896–1994*. In recent years, he has written about Canadian science and medicine, and in 1998 published *The Science of War: Canadian Scientists and Allied Military Technology During the Second World War*.

Olive Patricia Dickason discusses native land claims, an eighteenth-century issue that took on new urgency in the twentieth, and may well transform the country in the twenty-first. Dickason, professor emeritus of history at the University of Alberta and adjunct professor at the University of Ottawa, is the author of several books, including *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples*; *The Myth of the Savage*; and *Indian Arts in Canada*. Before she began her career as a scholar, she was a journalist for the Regina *Leader-Post*, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the Montreal *Gazette*, and *The Globe and Mail*.

Jack Granatstein, director and CEO of the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, considers our military. Granatstein taught history at York University from 1966 to 1995 and has written or coauthored more than forty scholarly and popular books on Canadian military and political history, the latest among them *Who Killed Canadian History?* (1998); *Trudeau's Shadow: The Life and Legacy of Pierre Trudeau* (1998); and *Prime Ministers: Ranking Canada's Leaders* (1999).

Suanne Kelman explores the Canadian family. Kelman is the director of the broadcast stream at Ryerson Polytechnic University's school of journalism, where she has taught since 1993. Her first book, *All in the Family: A Cultural History of Family Life*, was published in 1998. She has served as arts producer for CBC radio's *Sunday Morning* (which included inventing the clues for the program's fiendish headliner quiz) and as a producer for CBC television's *The Journal*. Since 1987, she has also worked as a freelance broadcaster and journalist.

Christopher Moore, a Toronto writer and columnist for the *Beaver* since 1991, looks at Canadian historians. His books include the recent bestseller *Canada: Our Century*; the young people's history of Canada called *The Story of Canada*; and *Louisbourg Portraits*, for which he won the Governor General's Award. Dalton Camp called his 1997 book *1867: How the Fathers Made a Deal*, "just about the best book on our history I have ever read." He has written widely for magazines, films, and educational projects. This year he is national chair of The Writers' Union of Canada.

William Neville takes on politics. Neville is associate professor and head of the department of political studies at the University of Manitoba, where he has taught since 1976; he has also served as executive assistant to its president, university coordinator of Canadian studies, and international liaison officer. His career has included two years as executive assistant to the leader of the Opposition in the Manitoba legislature and ten years in Winnipeg municipal politics. Since 1989, he has written a regular column on politics for the *Winnipeg Free Press*.

Joy Parr analyzes the Canadian consumer tradition. The 1999 William Lyon Mackenzie King professor of Canadian studies at Harvard, Parr is now the Farley professor of history at

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Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. She is the author of *Domestic Goods* (1999), about how Canadians appraised furniture, appliances, and Keynesian economic policy after World War II. Parr has previously written about child immigration in *Labouring Children* (1980, 1995) and about the rise and decline of small-town industry in *Gender of Breadwinners* (1990). She is currently studying communities altered by megaprojects in the postwar period.

Joy Parr

Graham D. Taylor

Maria Tippett

Graham D. Taylor examines three quintessential Canadian businesses. Now professor of history and academic vice president at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario, Taylor has taught at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was also dean of arts and social sciences. His publications in the area of Canadian and international business history include *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism* (1980); *Du Pont and the International Chemical Industry*, with Patricia Sudnik (1984); and *A Concise History of Business in Canada*, with Peter Baskerville (1994).

Maria Tippett explores Canada's cultural landscape. Tippett is a cultural historian who divides her time between Cambridge University, where she is a member of the faculty of history, and Bowen Island, B.C. Her books include *Emily Carr: a Biography* (1979), which received the Governor General's Award for nonfiction; *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art and the Great War* (1984); *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* (1990); *"By a Lady": Canadian Women in the Visual Arts 1690–1990* (1992); and *Stormy Weather: F. H. Varley, a Biography* (1998). She is currently writing a book on artist Bill Reid and the revival of West Coast native culture. ▣

With much thanks and appreciation ...

There has been more than the usual production team of writers, editors, designers, and printers at work on this special issue of the *Beaver*, our tribute to the millennium. Indeed, our partners for "Our Century" included a number of companies whose generosity made the issue possible.

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Molson has been a partner in Canada's future since 1786, the year it was founded. A true heritage company and a respected corporate citizen, its appreciation of its own roots and respect for the past were factors that led Molson to provide a handsome contribution and become the principal sponsor of "Our Century" issue, for which we are most grateful.

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The Society also wishes to recognize the faithful generosity it has received from the **Hudson's Bay History Foundation**. Since the Society was established in 1994, the Foundation has provided an annual grant to further its work to popularize Canadian history, through the *Beaver* and other activities that the Society has developed. The Foundation also provides substantial support to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives collection (in the Manitoba Archives in Winnipeg), the Hudson's Bay Artifact Collection (located in the Manitoba Museum in Winnipeg) and provides funds for projects related to Hudson's Bay and/or fur trade history.

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WILLIAM NEVILLE

Politics

The twentieth century was a time of testing for Confederation. When Sir John A. cobbled together four intractable British colonies in 1867, he envisioned a strong central state as a bulwark against American incursion, an arbitrator of French-English conflict, and an instrument of economic expansion. But world war, depression, nationalist passion, regional disaffection, restive provinces, and the lure of the colossus to the south have served to fray Macdonald's handiwork. For Confederation in the twenty-first century the struggle continues.

SUSTAINING CONFEDERATION

Sustaining Confederation

The Canada that existed in 1900 was, in no small measure, the Canada created by John A. Macdonald and his associates in 1867. Indeed, it was Macdonald's preeminently political genius that animated the creation of a transcontinental state out of what had previously been unconnected British colonies and politically unorganized territories. With the object of creating a nation, Macdonald created a state. To create a state he created a party that dominated Canadian politics as long as he lived. (And he created a party by employing a range of tools, not least of them being patronage, which became a deeply engraved hallmark of the Canadian political culture.)

The creation of the state was, therefore, a supremely political act. Indeed, George-Étienne Cartier, in a particularly felicitous phrase, referred to the creation of a *political*

nationality, which was to say, a nationality based on political choice and political association rather than on the more common bases of nineteenth-century nationality – ethnicity, language, and religion. The Macdonaldian state, moreover, was to be a strongly centralized one with, it was hoped and expected, provinces somehow evolving into something approximating glorified municipalities. However, if Canadian politics in the last third of the nineteenth century was largely devoted to creating an unconventional state without the conventional glue, politics in the twentieth century was largely devoted to sustaining it in the face of challenges that seemed repeatedly to imperil its existence. The challenges were expressed in regional, social, and economic tensions and, above all, by questions of identity – that is, whether Canada was British, American, or, improbably, Canadian; and by associated cultural cleavages, of which by far the greatest was the dualistic divide between French- and English-speaking Canada. Partly in response to these challenges and partly because the centre could not or – in any event – did not hold, by the end of the twentieth century Macdonald's centralized state had evolved into a highly decentralized federation.

Such issues led in part to the election of Laurier and the Liberals in 1896. Though preeminently the party of Confederation, the Conservative party had seen significant erosion of its Quebec support following the 1885 execution of Louis Riel, a decline reinforced by the Manitoba Schools Question and its implications for the rights of linguistic and religious minorities. To this controversy, Laurier brought the promise of "sunny ways," and for much of his tenure sunny ways prevailed. New provinces were created, unprecedented levels of immigration fuelled population growth, times were generally good. Yet when Laurier was brought down in 1911, the decisive issues were the Naval Service Bill to establish a Canadian navy and the issue of reciprocity with the United States. Around these issues revolved questions of Canadians' first loyalities. Were they to country or to Empire? Not surprisingly, answers in Quebec, where nationalists saw Laurier as excessively pro-British, were rather different than those in English Canada, where imperialists thought him not British enough.

Laurier's defeat represented the Conservatives' first electoral victory since the death of Macdonald in 1891. Their return, albeit with a minority of the seats in Quebec, might have enabled them to reestablish themselves as a national party rooted in, and spanning, both linguistic communities. Almost from the time of its election, however, Robert Borden's government found itself torn between its nationalist support in Quebec and its imperialist elements in Ontario. As the latter prevailed, the former ebbed away. As support in Quebec diminished, the government was less exposed and, hence, less susceptible to French-Canadian opinion. The less susceptible it was, the more its Quebec support declined. This vicious circle culminated in a conscription crisis in 1917 and in the formation of the Union government encompassing the Conservative party and most English-speaking Liberals. The government carried con-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-002746

It is said Canada was born in the trenches of the Great War, and Robert Borden was the prime minister who presided at that birth. Head of a Conservative government from 1911 to 1917 and a Union (coalition) government until his resignation in 1920, he sacrificed much, including French-English unity, farmers' concerns, and workers' needs, to maintain Canadian soldiers at the front. Though his conscription policy bitterly divided the country along linguistic lines, his insistence that the other Great Powers recognize Canada's war sacrifice led to the nation's new status as a self-governing dominion in the British Empire.

1896

Jul 8 Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal party form the federal government.

1904

Marxists and the Canadian Socialist League merge to found the Socialist Party of Canada.

1905

Alberta and Saskatchewan become provinces.

1907

The federal government passes the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act prohibiting strikes and lockouts in public utilities and mines until the dispute is investigated by an arbitration board composed of capital and labour, with government as "an impartial umpire."

1910

Jan 10 *Le Devoir*, founded by Quebec nationalist leader Henri Bourassa, publishes its first issue in Montreal. The newspaper takes a pan-Canadian nationalist, pro-Catholic, anti-British stance.

1911

Jan 21 Prime Minister Laurier and the Liberal government reach a commercial reciprocity agreement with the U.S. Plans for reciprocal trade end when the Conservatives, led by Robert Borden, win the Sep 21 federal election.

1914

Aug 4 As part of the British Empire, Canada automatically enters World War I when Britain declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.

1916

Jan 27 The first provincial female franchise act is passed, giving Manitoba women political equality and the right to vote in provincial elections.

1917

Aug 29 The Military Service Act is passed, instating conscription in WWI.

Oct 12 Borden becomes leader of the Union government, a coalition of Tories and proconscription Liberals opposed to their own party's anticonscription platform.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-000463

The first French-Canadian prime minister, Wilfrid Laurier (shown here campaigning in Berlin, Ontario in 1908) dominated the Liberal party for more than three decades. Head of government from 1896 to 1911, he presided over a period of steady development and progress for Canada, fuelled by unparalleled population growth, Western expansion, and an industrial boom. In this atmosphere, it was not unreasonable to predict, as he did in 1904, that the twentieth century would belong to Canada.

scription and won the wartime election, but these were Pyrrhic victories. Most of Quebec's members were Liberals, and sat in opposition under Laurier's leadership. The victory of the Union government, however, proved to be a poisoned chalice for the Conservative party, which became a virtual nullity in Quebec and, in the longer term, the more-or-less permanent national opposition party. Another forty years would pass before they would win a majority in Quebec – which proved fleeting – and a further twenty-five years would pass before it happened a second time.

Some scholars have observed that culturally divided states can enjoy stable and effective political systems if their political elites are capable of building links across and between the subcultures. Such capability assumes the existence of substantially shared values among the elites, who will recognize and accept limits on the degree to which majorities may prevail against the core interests of minorities. The 1917 conscription crisis, in which every French Canadian M.P. opposed Borden's legislation for compulsory military service, might be taken as an illustration of such a system in the process of breaking down.

From the outset, French- and English-speaking Canadians reflected rather differing perspectives on the Great War, but those differences were manageable so long as individual participation in the war could remain a matter of individual conscience and choice. Conscription, however, changed this. It raised the prospect of French Canadians being compelled to fight in a war to which many of them were opposed. It meant proceeding, not on the basis of some nation-wide consensus, but on the basis of the majority – largely English-speaking – imposing its will on the minority – largely French-speaking. And all this occurred at a time when the government of Ontario was acting to restrict the use of French as a language of instruction in its schools. The majority prevailed, the war was won, and the country survived, but for domestic politics and national statecraft, the price was high and enduring.

The legacy of the war and the problems of the postwar era proved a heavy burden for the Conservatives. The war had provided a distraction from emerging social and economic discontents in both the cities and on the farms. A new public sensibility, however, was arising from the old. This was reflected, among other things, by the enfranchisement of women and by the expectations of many Canadians, both returning soldiers and civilians, that the privations of war would lead to a new postwar order. The politicians, however, especially those in the Union government, showed every sign of believing that, with peace, there would be a reversion to prewar business-as-usual. The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and a series of elections, provincial and national, provided compelling evidence that that was unlikely.

The Winnipeg General Strike was driven by accumulated grievances borne of industrialization and urbanization, and reinforced by the claims of returning soldiers. It was fuelled by anxieties about the loyalties of "aliens" and more particularly by fears of an alien creed, Bolshevism, which had recently taken root in Russia. In Winnipeg, the forces of order and the status quo prevailed, but to those who feared it, the strike was a harbinger of a future to be forestalled by all means available: one that embraced dangerous notions of collective bargaining, workers' rights, and radical politics. All of these, of course, came to pass.

The period of wartime politics proved even more disruptive on other fronts. Farmers had increasingly chafed under policies of prewar governments, and the return of peace seemed likely to see a reversion to prewar policies. Moreover, though the Union government had promised to exempt farm workers from conscription, within months of

Thirty thousand Winnipeg workers went on strike May 15, 1919, closing down the city's manufacturing, trade, and transportation. Winnipeg's most influential bankers, manufacturers, its politicians and their supporters – in this case the Returned Soldiers Loyalist Association, shown here at a City Hall rally, June 4 – declared the industrial action a revolutionary conspiracy initiated by European workers and Bolsheviks. There was little evidence for the charges. In the wake of substantial postwar unemployment and inflation, labour unrest was growing across the country, its strongest manifestation in Winnipeg where negotiations broke down between management and labour in the building and metal trades. The federal government moved swiftly to support the employers by broadening the legal definition of sedition, deporting undesirable aliens, and sending in the troops. After numerous arrests and casualties, and one death, the strikers returned to work June 25. Canadian workers would have to wait another thirty years to secure union recognition and collective bargaining.

the election that exemption was revoked. The Union government coalition seemed to confirm what many farmers had long suspected: there were no important differences between Grits and Tories. Agrarian discontent led several government members sympathetic to farmers, notably agriculture minister T.A. Crerar, to resign and to the formation of farmers' parties, which achieved almost immediate success in provincial elections. More remarkably, in the federal election of 1921, the Conservatives, now led by Arthur Meighen, were not only defeated by a resurgent Liberal party, but placed third in the Commons after the Progressive party, formed in 1920 by a coalition of Ontario and prairie farmers and dissident Liberals led by Crerar. This dramatic result brought Canada's two-party system to an end.

Paradoxically – on the face of it – a multiparty system ushered in a period of one-party dominance that lasted for more than thirty-five years. From 1921 to 1957, the Liberals were in office except for a few months in 1926 and from 1930 to 1935. The Liberals presided over the postwar readjustments of the 1920s, over the post-Depression recovery of the late '30s, through the Second World War, and into the great era of prosperity that followed. They became the country's natural governing party during a period that saw Canadian national identity substantially redefined and the coming of the welfare state.

It began with Mackenzie King. One of the few prominent English-speaking Liberals to stand with Laurier during the 1917 conscription crisis, he was shrewd enough to realize the implications of the national and political trauma. And he was in a position to profit from it in a way that the Conservatives were not. Indeed, he made sure the country was reminded regularly of Conservative failings. Succeeding Laurier as Liberal leader in 1919, he came into his inheritance on the proposition that the overriding principle of Canada's survival lay in ensuring that no irreconcilable issue ever again be allowed to divide the country on linguistic lines. For King, a corollary was that the Tories, not comprehending this principle, should, at all costs, be kept from national office. Another was that he, King, was manifestly – and probably divinely – ordained to keep the Tories out and the country together. These convictions, no doubt genuinely held, coincided remarkably with the interests of the Liberal party. They also recalled the jibe of one of W.E. Gladstone's contemporaries that he didn't mind that Gladstone always had the ace of trumps up his sleeve, but he objected to Gladstone's pretence that God Almighty put it there.

Thus armed, King was to dominate the country's political life for thirty years. Shrewd, cautious, ever mindful of the political implications of both action and inaction, he had enormous success as a party politician and a statesman. During his era, many

TO
LIVING
ENEMY
WE STAND BY OUR ELECTED GOVERNMENT
DOWN WI
BOLSHEVIS
DEPORT T
UNDESIRA
ALIEN
CANADIAN CORPS FALL IN

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA / N12296

1918

The Canada Elections Act is passed, enfranchising all Canadian women for federal elections.

1919

Mar 15 At the Western International Labour Conference in Calgary, "One Big Union" is formed to advance industrial workers' cause for collective bargaining, higher wages, and better working conditions.

May 5 The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council supports the city's 12,000 unionized workers by calling for a general strike, which begins May 15. The strike climaxes Jun 21, "Bloody Saturday," when Mounties charge into a crowd of strikers, killing two men and wounding 20. The strike ends on Jun 26.

1920

Jan 10 Canada becomes a founding member of the League of Nations, establishing independence from Britain's authority in foreign policy and international cooperation.

Jul 10 Borden resigns and justice minister Arthur Meighen becomes the new Unionist prime minister.

Ontario and prairie farmers and dissident Liberals join to form the Progressive party, bringing the "farmers' platform" to the federal political stage.

1921

Jun The Communist Party of Canada is founded in Guelph, Ontario.

Dec 6 The Progressives permanently end the tradition of the two-party system in Canada by winning 65 seats in the federal election. Factionalism leads to the party's demise in the mid-'20s.

Dec 29 W.L. Mackenzie King and the Liberal party form the federal government.

1923

Mar 2 Canada signs its first treaty independently of Britain – the "Halibut Treaty" with the U.S. to protect Pacific halibut fisheries.

1926

Jun 29 The "King-Byng" constitutional crisis erupts when Gov Gen Byng refuses King's request to dissolve Parliament and invites Opposition leader Arthur Meighen to form a government.

1929

Oct 18 The Imperial Privy Council declares Canadian women are legally "persons" and eligible to sit in the Canadian Senate.

1930

Jul 28 R.B. Bennett and the Conservative party form the federal government.

Cairine Reay Wilson becomes the first woman to be appointed to the Senate.

1931

The Statute of Westminster, passed by the British parliament, grants Canada and the other Dominions full legal freedom to exercise their autonomy in both domestic and foreign affairs. The British Commonwealth is born.

If Laurier's prediction that the twentieth century would belong to Canada proved too optimistic, King settled for a more modest goal: that twentieth century Canada should belong to the Liberal party.

notable changes occurred, though not all under his auspices: The passage of the Statute of Westminster, which ended the automatic extension of British parliamentary acts to Canada; the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act; the ending of judicial appeals to the Privy Council in London; the rounding out of the Dominion with the addition, finally, of Newfoundland; a major shift in Canadian approaches to foreign policy; and a significant reorientation – in commerce, politics, and culture – away from Britain and the Empire and toward the United States.

In contemplating these and other changes, one could sensibly ask whether King shaped or merely reflected the values and assumptions of his age, and there is no easy or definitive answer. What seems clear, however, is that the decline of Britain and the Empire and the ascendancy of the United States in some degree paralleled a shift in Canadians' allegiances, orientations, and self-perceptions. In 1926, for example, in the famed King-Byng dispute over the prerogatives of the governor general (in which Byng refused King's request to dissolve Parliament, resulting in a constitutional crisis), King was constitutionally wrong, but politically shrewd: he turned the dispute into an issue of Downing Street interference, and he won reelection. King's suspicions of the British and his greater openness to the U.S. had, of course, a degree of resonance in both Quebec and the West, where no small part of his political strength rested. Whether he led or followed, what seems clear is that his own predispositions on some of the great issues of his era were reflected in some of the larger trends of the time; and he was shrewd enough to know when to push and when to let events take their natural course. If Laurier's prediction that the twentieth century would belong to Canada proved too optimistic, King settled for a more modest goal: that twentieth century Canada should belong to the Liberal party. Between 1900 and 2000, the Liberals held office for seventy years.

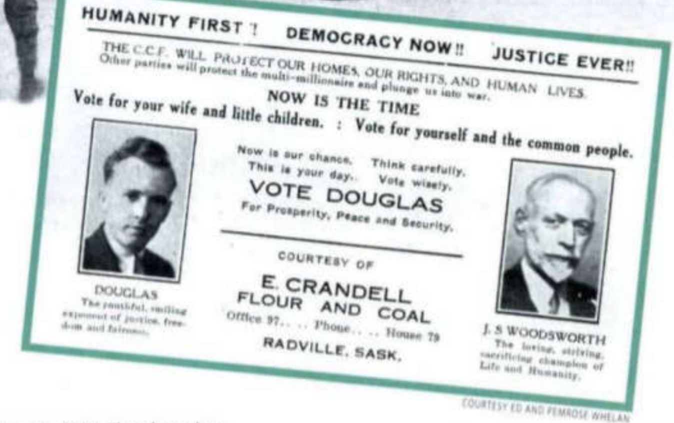
It was not that the country was proving easier to govern. The crash of 1929 ushered in the Great Depression, which, for Canada, was not merely a great economic crisis but a period of natural disaster through ravaging drought in the West. R.B. Bennett, the Conservative prime minister from 1930 to 1935, attempted to undo the Depression through the then-conventional tools open to governments. His conversion to more radical measures came too late to save him, but his legacy, whether in the founding of what became the CBC or in more explicit fiscal and social policy initiatives, was the renewal of an earlier tradition of the interventionist state. By now, of course, the Conservatives were no longer the sole or even the most effective exponents of such views, for the emergence of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation after 1932 brought a sustained democratic socialist perspective to public discourse. And the rise of the CCF, not least through their triumph in Saskatchewan in 1944 and the emergence of J.S. Woodsworth, Tommy Douglas, and Stanley Knowles (all ultimately revered as national icons), helped bring the Liberals onside. King, as always, was not a man to be outflanked.

If the Depression heightened the drive towards the welfare state, it also ensured that the national government would assume a key role. The economic crisis brought several provinces to bankruptcy. And the Rowell-Sirois Commission on federal-provincial relations – among the most important examples ever of that Canadian fixture, the royal commission – established in 1940 a basis for an activist national government by recommending a shift of tax power to the federal government and a federal role in equalizing revenues to provinces through financial transfers. To this enhanced role could be added the effects of the growing influence of Keynesian economics, which posited a large role for public spending as a means of regulating the extremes of the business cycle. The country thus entered a period of twenty-five or thirty years where the role of government changed remarkably and where the position of the federal government changed in particular. The consequences were far-reaching and sometimes slightly paradoxical. Looking at the consequences of the economic crisis, to which were added the privations of the Second World War, one concludes that adversity ultimately strengthened the country. The welfare state, with the national government presiding, ended up being an essential element of the glue that held the country's disparate parts together. Indeed, by late in the century, when the social safety net was threatened, many Canadians saw it as a defining part of their nationality and citizenship. At the same time, the emergence of a strong central government expressing a national view and national priorities (or, depending on one's perspective, disposed to impose a central view on regions or provinces without regard to local sensibilities) had the potential for producing intergovernmental tensions. So it proved, first with Quebec, and then with other provinces, and when the pendulum began to swing back, it had considerable momentum.

Canadians who came of age in this period could be forgiven for overlooking the potential tensions of the French-English cleavage. The dominance of the federal Liberals and the substantial retreat of Quebec provincial politicians into fortress Quebec largely removed questions of "dualism" from the national agenda. With the coming of the Second World War, there came, as if on cue, a second conscription crisis. King temporized: his motto, famously, was "conscription if necessary but not necessarily conscription." Though ultimately forced into a plebiscite to seek release from anti-conscription promises (which, predictably, produced different results in French- and English-speaking Canada), King delayed long enough to prove his bona fides in Quebec and was then saved by the coming of peace. The second conscription crisis, though far less divisive than the first, was a reminder of the awkward rules governing survival of a country with such a major linguistic and cultural divide.

Peace, while ushering in what proved to be an unprecedented era of domestic growth and prosperity, also ushered in the Cold War. In this new circumstance, Canada's lead-

laugh at us TO DA
in our ranks
ACHS
THIS IS THE WAY BENNETT CURES UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION


HUMANITY FIRST ! DEMOCRACY NOW !! JUSTICE EVER!!

THE C.C.F. WILL PROTECT OUR HOMES, OUR RIGHTS, AND HUMAN LIVES.
Other parties will protect the multi-millionaire and plunge us into war.

NOW IS THE TIME

Vote for your wife and little children. : Vote for yourself and the common people.

Now is our chance. Think carefully.
This is your day. Vote wisely.

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COURTESY ED AND FEMROSE WHELAN

Above: The worldwide economic depression of the 1930s affected Canada, which depended on income derived from exports, more severely than most countries. By 1933 nearly a third of the labour force was unemployed, but Tory prime minister R.B. Bennett, like many economists of the day, believed the conventional wisdom that a balanced budget, a sound dollar, and changes in the tariff would allow the private marketplace to bring about a recovery. They didn't. The unemployment rate did not fall below 12 percent until the beginning of the Second World War and the acceptance by government of state-interventionist policies along Keynesian lines. Left adrift by largely uncaring governments at all levels, the unemployed occasionally resorted to demonstrations such as this one in Winnipeg in 1931. The placard at the left reads: "Don't laugh at us today. You may be in our ranks tomorrow."

Above, right: Founded in Calgary in 1932, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation joined progressive, socialist, and labour forces eager to bring about the economic reforms necessary in the Great Depression. Methodist minister and Winnipeg North Centre MP J.S. Woodsworth was chosen the CCF's first leader. Tommy Douglas, a Baptist minister and convert to the Social Gospel, ran unsuccessfully for the CCF in the 1934 Saskatchewan provincial election, but won a seat in the House of Commons the following year. Both men injected democratic socialism into the mainstream of Canadian politics, which led to governments assuming key roles in the social welfare of Canadians.

ers opted to play a more proactive role – in the creation of multilateral organizations like the UN and NATO – than they had in the interwar years. This was partly a reflection of altered self-perception and partly a consequence of Europe's preoccupation with reconstruction. The period also saw a marked shift in international leadership from Britain and Europe to the United States.

A major player in this transition was Louis St. Laurent, first as minister for External Affairs and then, in 1948, as King's successor as prime minister. St. Laurent presided over a period of buoyant activity and growth and was one of the most successful – and perhaps most underrated – prime ministers. This latter had, perhaps, two sources: He had a capacity to make governing Canada look easy and he presided over the last years of a government too long in office, which by its end seemed old, tired, and arrogant. The long Liberal hegemony ended in 1957 with the unexpected success of a revitalized Conservative party under John Diefenbaker.

Under Diefenbaker, the Tories, for a time, seemed more progressive than conservative and certainly more populist than their rivals. Their arrival, with a minority government in 1957 fol-

1932

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), forerunner of the New Democratic Party, is founded in Calgary as a coalition of farmers' organizations, labour unions, and labour-socialist parties in the western provinces.

1935

Jun 3 The On-to-Ottawa Trek, organized in Vancouver to publicize the plight of the unemployed, travels to Regina. On Jun 22, group leaders representing the 2,000 marchers meet unsuccessfully with Prime Minister Bennett in Ottawa. On Jul 1, Bennett orders leaders arrested at a rally in Regina. In the ensuing riot a policeman is killed.

Jun 28 The Employment and Social Insurance Act introduces legislation to regulate hours of work, minimum wages, and working conditions, and provide unemployment insurance. It forms the foundation for future social programs.

Oct 23 Mackenzie King begins his third term as prime minister with a Liberal majority government.

1936

Aug 17 Maurice Duplessis and the Union Nationale win by a landslide in Quebec's provincial elections, ending 39 years of continuous Liberal rule. During his two terms as premier (1936–39 and 1944–59), Duplessis creates a powerful political machine, maintaining tight control over Quebec, and asserting the authority of the Quebec state over that of the Church.

1939

Sep 10 Canada declares war on Germany, independently of Britain.

1940

The Rowell-Sirois Report recommends changes in federal-provincial relations and financing. Without support from the majority of the provinces, the federal government unilaterally implements some of the report's recommendations, including nationalizing the Bank of Canada and unemployment insurance.

1945

Apr Canada becomes one of 50 founding members of the United Nations.

1948

Nov 15 Mackenzie King's resigns. Louis St. Laurent becomes prime minister.

1949

Mar 31 Newfoundland becomes Canada's 10th province, following a referendum in which 52.34% voted in favour of Confederation and 47.66% for independence.

April 4 Canada joins the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a defence pact established to counter Soviet expansion in Europe.

Igor Gouzenko, a Soviet embassy cypher clerk, reveals the existence of a Soviet spy ring in Canada that had been operating throughout WWII. Closely involved in the research of the atomic bomb, Canada is drawn into the Cold War.

lowed by a sweeping majority in 1958, marked yet another sea change in the party system. The existing minor parties were decimated. By 1962 the Social Credit Party, based in Alberta, had disappeared, to be replaced briefly by a Quebec cousin, the *Ralliement des créditistes*; the CCF joined with organized labour to create the New Democratic Party. The multiparty system, which had existed since 1921, thus reasserted itself, but was no longer dominated by a single party; after 1962 it was a system without a single national party if, by that, one meant a party with substantial strength in all the regions. For a time, minority government seemed to become the norm: There were nine federal elections between 1957 and 1979, of which only three produced majority governments.

The uncertainty in party politics reflected uncertainties in the country. Despite general prosperity, not all Canadians nor all regions prospered equally. The West and Atlantic Canada felt marginalized by long years of a government that drew most of its strength from Ontario and Quebec. The hinterlands proved fertile ground for Diefenbaker and developed attachments to the Conservatives that proved more enduring than Diefenbaker himself. Fuelling these difficulties was the reemergence of two issues that would drive and shape political discourse for the balance of the century: the implications of American embrace and those of Quebec's disaffection.

The first reflected a vague unease in some parts of the country about the omnipresence of the U.S. in Canadian life, a penetration increasingly reflected in economic policy, trade, defence, and culture in all its aspects. The ambivalence surfaced in issues as different as the great pipeline debate in the spring of 1956 (which involved government loans to an American company to build a pipeline in Canada) and in reactions, later that year, to the Suez Crisis, which seemed to ally Canada with the U.S. against Britain. The years between the Suez Crisis and the 1963 Bomarc crisis (in which the Conservative government dithered before finally refusing to accept U.S. nuclear warheads for Canadian Bomarc missiles) marked the last stages by which Canada, insensibly and by degrees, moved from the British and Commonwealth orbit into a continental one.

Nonetheless, nationalist stirrings could be discerned. These were focused on perceptions of Washington determining Canada's defence and foreign policy, a concern reinforced by high and increasing levels of American investment and ownership. Controversy over defence policy in the early 1960s was a particular manifestation. The government was irresolute on the issue of adopting nuclear warheads, and the ambiguities of independence came into play. The prime minister was muddled, the cabinet divided, the opposition opportunistic, and the Americans intrusive.

Defeated in the House in 1963, Diefenbaker waged a not-so-subtle anti-American campaign that emphasized Canadian sovereignty. He lost. It was the first time that a Canadian government had fought an election campaign *against* American influences with that result. For many, notably the philosopher and theologian George Grant, the outcome was a death knell for Canadian independence. In his classic tract for the times, *Lament for a Nation*, Grant argued the impossibility of conserving anything for very long – including the sovereignty of a small state – in an age devoted to progress and technological change.

DOMINION
OF
CANADA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-022001

He was little loved, but William Lyon Mackenzie King ruled Canada longer than any other prime minister, leading the country through Depression, world war, and the beginning of the social welfare state. A shrewd politician and a cautious administrator, he slackened Canada's ties with the Empire and maintained harmony between French- and English-speaking Canada. When war began in 1939 and a potentially divisive conscription crisis seemed inevitable, King temporized, his motto: "conscription if necessary but not necessarily conscription." In a 1942 plebiscite (King is shown here casting his ballot), a majority of Canadians released him from earlier anticonscription promises, but Quebec voters were opposed. He delayed conscription until November 1944 to keep the peace with Quebec; the war in Europe ended six months later.

In 1958, the federal Conservatives had won two-thirds of the Quebec seats in the House of Commons, the first time they had won a majority in Quebec in the twentieth century. This phenomenon was partly related to a bandwagon effect in favour of Diefenbaker, whose charisma (though that word did not come into use until a decade later) swept all before it. It was also partly the result of the intervention of the conservative Union Nationale government in Quebec. The results proved an aberration: Diefenbaker and most of his senior colleagues and advisers possessed little knowledge of French Canada, and two years after their sweep their provincial patrons, the Union Nationale, had been swept from office in the beginning of what soon became known as the Quiet Revolution.

For forty years prior to 1960, Quebec had been governed by politicians essentially committed to limited government and provincial autonomy. The interventionist state was slower to come in Quebec than in some places, but when it came, it came full force. The Liberals under Jean Lesage proved both active and reformist, employing the powers of the state in previously untested ways. Their energy and activity raised, as they were bound to do, questions of resources and powers, and simultaneously created and appealed to a new nationalist sentiment in Quebec. This rising nationalist tide expressed itself in the notion of Quebeckers becoming *maitres chez nous*, requiring greater powers for the province, thus leading to suggestions, then recommendations, then demands, that the whole Canadian constitutional regime be opened for renewal.

These issues came to dominate the agenda of Lester Pearson, who became Liberal prime minister in 1963. Pearson, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, did not have a peaceable time. He governed for five fractious years, in two essentially hung parliaments. His government, nonetheless, was able to complete the construction of the welfare state and address issues of identity through such measures as a new national flag and creating the Order of Canada. These, to say nothing of the 1967 Centennial celebrations, provided a sort of nationalizing glue as the country entered an era when it would most need it. A new Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism put words to what many already knew instinctively – that Canada was passing through a great crisis of its existence.

In 1966 Quebec's Lesage Liberal government was defeated by the old Union Nationale. Those who remembered the latter in its earlier incarnations might have supposed, or hoped, that Quebec would now roll over and go back to sleep. But the new premier, Daniel Johnson, proved even more nationalist. From Johnson onwards, the genie was out of the bottle, and though his book, *Equality or Independence*, may have overstated his case, when the provincial Liberals returned to office under Robert Bourassa, it became clear that changes of administration would not, in and of themselves, deflect the relentless thrust of Quebec politics, which was now focused on finding new constitutional arrangements with Canada.

The election in 1968 of Pierre Elliott Trudeau as Pearson's successor and prime minister looked for a time as though it might meet the need.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN G. DIEFENBAKER CENTRE / UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

A stirring orator, John Diefenbaker brought the Conservative party in the 1958 election to the largest majority in Canadian history to that point, sweeping every region of Canada, including Quebec. A quick-witted electioneer, he proved indecisive in government, and his majority was reduced to a minority in the 1962 election. In 1967, Robert Stanfield replaced him as party leader, but Diefenbaker remained in the House of Commons until his death in 1979, directing barbs not only at the Liberal government but at his own party as well.

DEFE
CONT
LA BOMB

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Cold War reached a crescendo as Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles grimly threatened "massive retaliation" for any aggression. In Canada, worry over the dangers of atmospheric testing and the debate over the presence of nuclear weapons provided a focus for a growing peace movement. In demonstrations such as this 1961 march in Toronto, some Canadians challenged the military priorities of the day and laid the groundwork for the social activism that would come to characterize the later 1960s and 1970s.

TORONTO TELEGRAM / YORK UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS / 108

1952

Jan 24 Vincent Massey becomes the first Canadian-born Governor General.

1957

Jun 21 John Diefenbaker and the Progressive Conservative party form the federal government.

Oct Lester B. Pearson wins the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in setting up the United Nations Emergency Force to defuse the 1956 Suez crisis, thus establishing Canada as a substantial force in international affairs, notably in peacekeeping.

1960

Jun 22 Liberal Jean Lesage, the driving force behind the Quiet Revolution, is elected Quebec premier.

Aug 10 Prime Minister Diefenbaker's Bill of Rights, a statute listing the rights of Canadians, becomes law.

1961

Aug 3 The New Democratic Party is founded, with T.C. Douglas as its first leader. The party is an alliance of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), unions of the Canadian Labour Congress, and activist New Party clubs.

1963

Apr 22 Lester B. Pearson and the Liberal party form the federal government.

May 1 The Quebec Liberal government, with cabinet minister René Lévesque as leading strategist, takes over 11 private power companies to form Hydro-Québec, a symbol of nationalization and the rising separatist movement in Quebec.

1965

Feb 15 A new Canadian flag with maple leaf and no British references is raised for the first time on Parliament Hill.

Mar 29 Commons approves Canada and Quebec pension plans, which become effective Jan 1966.

1966

Dec 1 The Medicare Act receives royal assent and becomes effective Jul 1, 1968.

The Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) is created to set out guidelines for provincial welfare programs.

1967

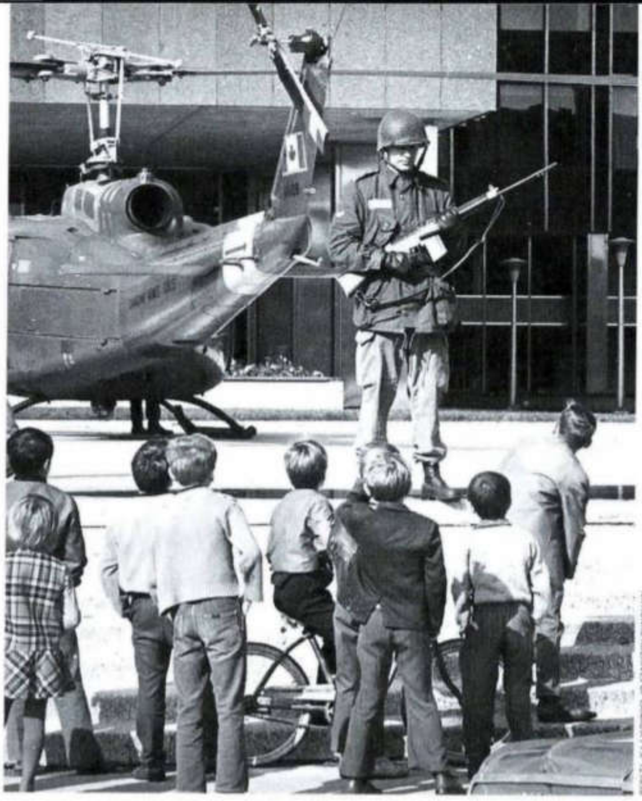
Jul 1 Canada celebrates 100 years of Confederation. To mark the occasion, Montreal hosts Expo '67 and the federal government creates the Order of Canada to honour outstanding Canadians.

1968

Apr 20 Pierre Trudeau and the Liberal party form the federal government as "Trudeaumania" sweeps the country.

Sep 9 The Official Languages Act is passed, making Canada officially bilingual, with French and English languages equal in all agencies under federal jurisdiction.

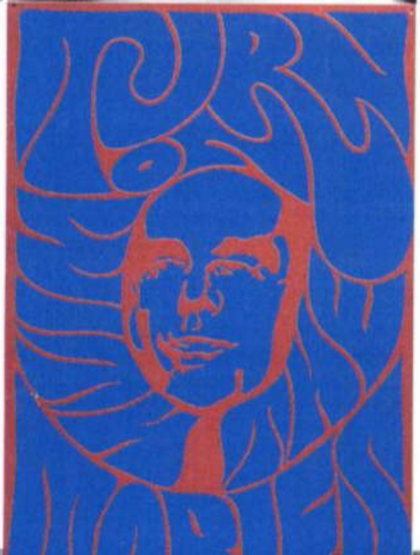
Oct 15 Former Liberal René Lévesque founds the Parti Québecois, which advocates sovereignty-association for Quebec – the creation of a separate Quebec state that would maintain close economic links to Canada.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-129838

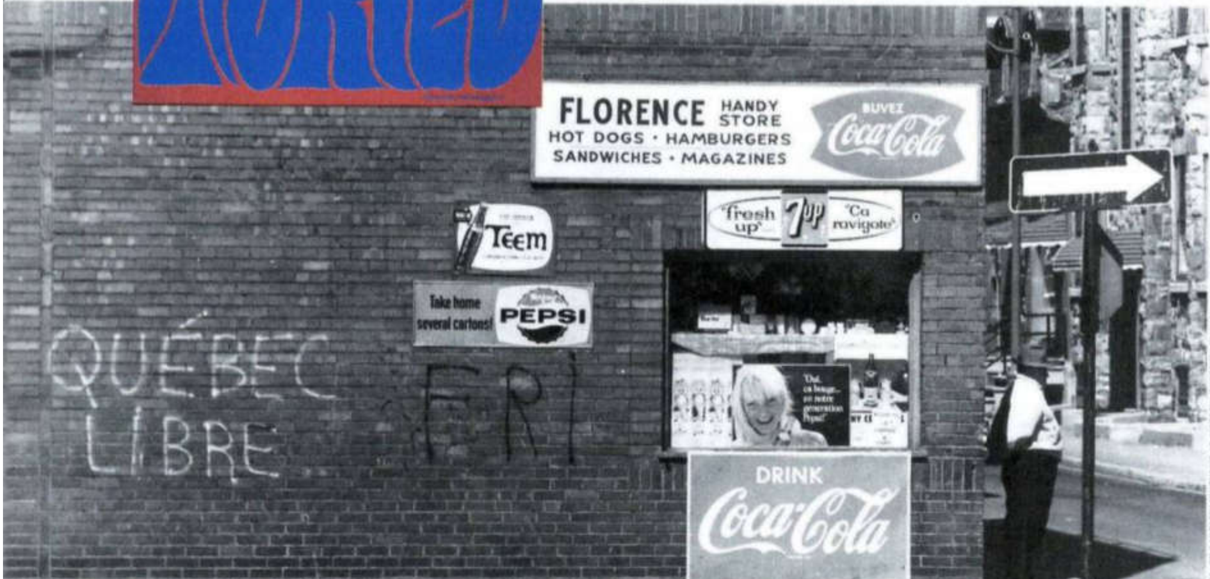
Curious children watch soldiers at Quebec Provincial Police Headquarters on Parthenais Street, Montreal, October, 1970. Following the kidnapping in Montreal of British trade commissioner James Cross by the Front de libération du Québec, the federal government proclaimed the existence of a state of "apprehended insurrection" under the War Measures Act, a 1914 statute that conferred emergency powers on the federal Cabinet. The FLQ was banned, normal civil liberties were suspended, and arrests and detentions were authorized without charge. Polls suggested most Canadians supported the government's tough stand, but Quebec nationalists and civil libertarians were deeply critical.

DUNCAN CAMERON / NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-189555



Left, top: Pierre Elliott Trudeau wore a flower on his lapel at the Liberal leadership convention in April, 1968. Canadians were living in the afterglow of Expo and the Centennial celebrations, and Trudeau, youthful and charismatic, seemed to embody the spirit of the age. Winning on the fourth ballot, he was sworn in as Canada's fifteenth prime minister, and in the ensuing June election, fuelled by Trudeaumania, won a majority. He dominated Canadian politics for sixteen years, and presided in 1982 over Canada's final act of political maturation, the repatriation of the constitution from Britain.

Left: In March 1968, with dynamic Pierre Trudeau growing in the public imagination, *Maclean's* magazine presented rather more stolid Conservative leader Robert Stanfield in the psychedelic style of the day. Did Canadians turn on with the Tories? No, they did not.



DAVID MARVIN / NOTMAN PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES / MCCORD MUSEUM OF CANADIAN HISTORY / MP-1978.216.5000

A new nationalist sentiment began to grow in Quebec in the early 1960s. The Quiet Revolution, it was called; but by the end of the '60s, sentiments had become less pacific. In 1967, visiting French president Charles de Gaulle had intoned "vive le Québec libre" to a crowd in Montreal – from his lips to the wall of Montreal's Florence Handy Store, a slogan soon as familiar as Coke and Pepsi.

Trudeau was antinationalist in his views; he rejected categorically any suggestion of special status for Quebec. He was seen by many in English-speaking Canada as a Quebecker who was prepared to be tough with Quebec. When in 1970 Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act to deal with a kidnapping conducted by a Quebec terrorist cell, many in the rest of the country saw the toughness and applauded, despite the accompanying suspension of civil liberties.

In rejecting Quebec nationalism, Trudeau rejected the notion of treating French Canadians as a collectivity. His alternative was to create, through official bilingualism, a situation in which individual French Canadians – or Québécois, as they were now beginning to identify themselves – would feel at home anywhere in the country. The means to this end included making the senior civil service bilingual and providing French-language services in those parts of the country with sufficient French-speaking populations to warrant them. As the new language regime was established, French immersion programs appeared in school districts throughout the country and the use of French in public events became commonplace.

Official bilingualism was not, in English-speaking Canada, a universally popular proposition. There were those who opposed it on philosophical grounds, or because of its cost, or out of several varieties of intolerance. It became harder to sell in the face of Quebec's own language laws, aspects of which were widely seen outside Quebec as silly or offensive, and with time, it also ran afoul of the competing claims of official multiculturalism, which carried its own potential for divisiveness. Nonetheless, bilingualism gained substantial support or acquiescence, particularly so long as there were reasons for thinking it the price of domestic tranquility. For a time, bilingualism seemed to offer a path out of the dualistic quagmire, but in the end it did not sell or change opinions in Quebec. Moreover, with the passage of time, tranquility did not come: Though Quebec voters continued to vote for Trudeau, perhaps chiefly as one of their own, they also continued to elect provincial governments resolutely committed to constitutional change. Finally, in 1976, Quebec voters elected to provincial office an explicitly separatist party, the Parti Québécois.

In 1979–80, a brief Conservative interregnum began and ended with Pierre Trudeau in power. Trudeau's return allowed him to lead the federal forces in a Quebec referendum, through which Quebec's separatist government sought authority to negotiate a new arrangement – "sovereignty association" – with Canada. This was a formula described by the constitutional authority Eugene Forsey as "hemi-demi-semi-separatism." In the result, non-French-speaking voters helped deliver a convincing federalist victory, though among French-speaking voters it was a near-run thing. In its wake, the federal government took up the cause of constitutional renewal once again. After protracted negotiations and referrals to various appeal courts, Ottawa and nine provincial governments produced a package that, among other things, patriated the constitution, established a Charter of Rights, and provided some slight adjustments in division of power. The Quebec government, disappointed with the substance and feeling betrayed by the process, did not sign. The British parliament nonetheless approved the package, thus terminating the sole legislative role it had retained in Canadian affairs, and the Queen came to Ottawa to sign the new act, styled the Constitution Act, 1982.

The election of 1984 brought the Conservatives, under Brian Mulroney, back into office with an overwhelming majority. Mulroney's premiership was to be marked by two major initiatives, both of which went directly to the nature of the country and, indeed, to its ultimate viability. The first was to strengthen relations and connections with the U.S., which evolved into a decision to seek free trade with the U.S. This was a radical proposal, representing a complete departure from the Conservatives' historical tradition embodied by Macdonald, Borden, and Diefenbaker. Whether Conservatives were beguiled into silence by the novel experience of office, or whether the

1970

Oct 5 The October Crisis erupts when the militant separatist group, the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ), kidnaps British Trade Commissioner James Cross in Montreal, then Quebec labour minister Pierre Laporte on Oct 10. Refusing FLQ demands, on Oct 16 Trudeau implements the War Measures Act. Laporte is found murdered the next day.

1975

Television cameras are permitted in the House of Commons for the first time.

1976

The Parti Québecois, promising to conduct a referendum on sovereignty-association, wins the Quebec provincial election.

1979

Jan 25 The report of the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity recommends reconstructing the federal government to respect regional diversity and Quebec's distinct powers.

Jun 4 Progressive Conservative Joe Clark takes office as Canada's youngest prime minister, one day after his 40th birthday.

Dec 13 The Supreme Court of Canada strikes down Quebec and Manitoba laws that created unilingual legislatures and courts, and rules that these provinces have no constitutional powers to enforce one language in these areas.

1980

Feb 18 Trudeau and the Liberals win the federal election after a vote of nonconfidence brings down Clark's minority Progressive Conservative government.

May 22 The Parti Québecois holds its referendum on the negotiation of sovereignty-association. About 60% voted in favour of unity.

Jun 27 *O Canada!*, originally composed in 1880 in Quebec, becomes our official national anthem with some revised English lyrics.

1982

Apr 17 Queen Elizabeth II proclaims the Constitution Act, incorporating the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, bringing Canada's constitution into effect and giving Canada full independence from Britain. PQ leader Lévesque boycotts the ceremony.

Oct 26 Dominion Day becomes Canada Day.

1984

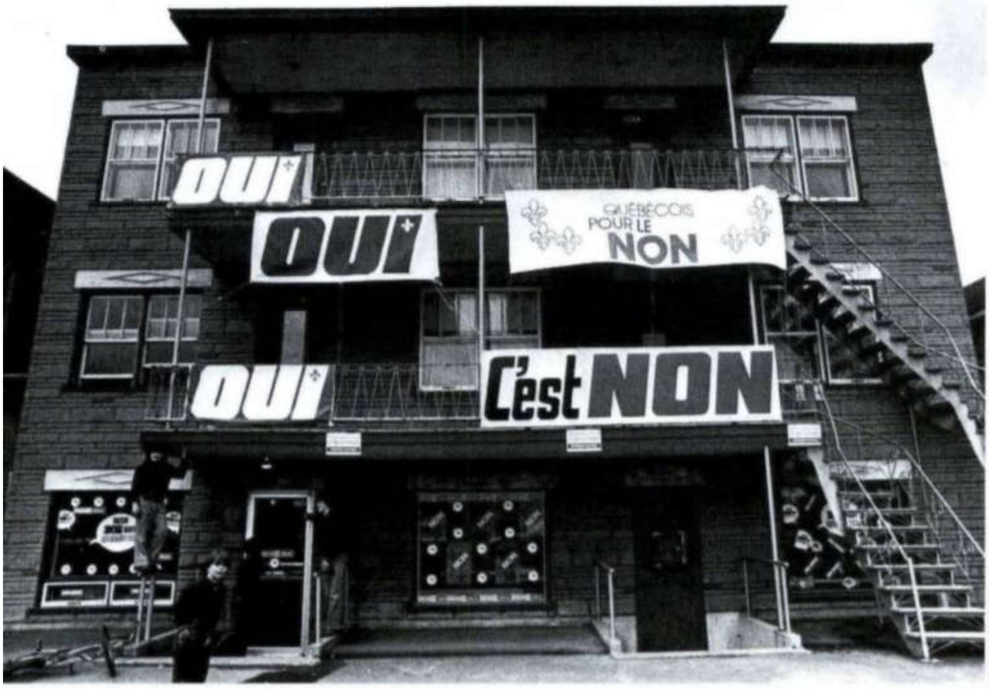
Jun 30 Following Trudeau's resignation, John Turner becomes the new Liberal prime minister.

Sep 17 Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives form the federal government.

1987

Jun 1 Mulroney and the 10 provincial premiers sign the Meech Lake Accord, recognizing Quebec as a distinct society within certain limits and allocating more power to the provinces.

Nov 1 The Reform Party is officially founded at a Winnipeg convention with Preston Manning as leader.



CP PICTURE ARCHIVE

Like Quebec itself, this house – in suburban Vanier in the 1980 referendum called by the Parti Québécois government to seek a mandate to negotiate new constitutional arrangements with the rest of the Canada – was divided. When the "*non*" committee moved into one side of the house, the occupant of the other side, a "*oui*" supporter, retaliated. On May 20, sovereignty association was rejected by 60 percent of Quebec's voters, although an estimated 50 percent of francophones supported it.

CP PICTURE ARCHIVE / RYAN REMIORZ

Three days before Quebec held its October 30, 1995 referendum of sovereignty, and with the "Yes" (pro-sovereignty) side gaining momentum in the polls, a demonstration in support of Canadian unity was held in Montreal. The "No" side achieved victory with a narrow majority of 50.56 percent.

times were simply right, no Conservative of note dissented. In the 1988 Free Trade election, the arguments of economic necessity, advanced by Mulroney, were countered by the Liberals and the NDP with concerns for national sovereignty and cultural identity. With a majority of seats, albeit a minority of votes, Mulroney and Free Trade prevailed. Another step in the process of continental consolidation was achieved, and the prescience of George Grant, in his dying days that year, was vindicated.

The other great issue involved revisiting the constitutional issue to develop new arrangements that would end Quebec's continuing disaffection. Part of Mulroney's initial appeal, within his party and without, was that he was a Québécois with deep roots in both linguistic communities and the potential to end the generations-old estrangement between his party and French Canada. His pledge had been to restore the Conservatives to strength in their nineteenth century fortress by demonstrating that a Conservative government could, after generations of alienation, be sensitive to Québécois aspirations. This he achieved, but he was unable to deliver on the constitutional front.

Working with Robert Bourassa, now restored as the Liberal premier of Quebec, Mulroney's first proposal, the Meech Lake Accord, would have recognized Quebec as a distinct society, addressed other Quebec priorities, and effected some transference of powers to all the provinces. All eleven governments agreed to the initial package in 1987, but final ratification required consent of Parliament and all the legislatures, and during the lengthy ratification process, opposition grew. The legal ramifications of "distinct society" caused anxiety, the omission of aboriginal concerns angered some, unease about decentralization animated others. Two legislatures failed to ratify by the legally imposed deadline, June 23, 1990, and Meech died. Opinion in Quebec was inflamed by what nationalists represented as a humiliating result.

Undaunted, Mulroney persevered. After more extensive and more public consultations, the Charlottetown Accord was hatched in 1992. It encompassed much of what had been in Meech, though fine-tuned, and much else besides: there were provisions aimed at aboriginals, Senate-reformers and other interests, with the added feature that it would be submitted to a national referendum for approval. A lively public debate followed, but the document that sought, to some degree, to offer something for everyone ended up offering something for everyone to shoot at. A decisive majority of voters, in a large majority of provinces, including Quebec, voted no. Constitutional fatigue took hold except, predictably, where separatists pointed to the demise of the two accords as proof positive that Canadian federalism was irredeemable and unreformable.

After these labours, the government lost steam and support. Indeed, anger at the government led to Mulroney's retirement and the complete rout of his party in 1993. In 1994, the Parti Québécois returned to office, pledged to another referendum, which it held in 1995. The federal position won, but barely. A sense of sleepwalking seemed to bedevil the federal leadership before the vote and a sense of gloom pervaded the country afterwards. Many Canadians outside Quebec seemed unable to comprehend the nature of the crisis or were inclined to deny its seriousness. Others concluded that there were either no mutually acceptable terms upon which the country could be saved or, alternatively, doubted the existence of the requisite political will to find them. After the referendum, support for separatism held steady, rose, then gradually fell. But the Parti Québécois won the ensuing election, believing that future victory was inevitable.

For many Canadians, the issues of dualism and continentalism seemed remote from issues of everyday existence. Moreover, the 1990s witnessed some signs of what can only be described as the dis-integration of a previously existing social order. The rise of neoconservatism saw sustained challenges to the welfare state and the system of social safety nets created in the previous fifty years. The effect was to exacerbate tensions between the best- and worst-off members of the society. Similarly, the Charter of Rights, admirable in many respects, tended to put premiums on citizens identifying themselves with groups in order to launch appeals to the courts. Official multiculturalism likewise seemed to reward ethnically based forms of group identification. All these phenomena appeared to challenge, as much as encourage, the cohesion of Canadian society at a time when its viability was also challenged by issues of identity and unity.

The country, at century's end, continued to face two problems that had bedevilled it from the beginning: what it means to be independent when sharing a continent with a behemoth; and how to stave off internal disintegration in the face of linguistic and other cleavages. The void left by the decline of British and Commonwealth connection was not filled significantly by as compelling a sense of Canadian identity and nationalism (as occurred for example in Australia) as it was by a massive and homogenizing influx of American popular culture. Having dismissed Quebec nationalism and having little of their own, English-speaking Canadians found themselves ill-equipped in the 1980s and 1990s to deal with the twin threats of Quebec separation and Americanization presented in the guise of globalization.

Many Canadians, not knowing their history, had little understanding of French Canada's grievances, real or perceived. Others, though knowing these things, declined to be held accountable for the behaviour of earlier generations. And the extreme Québécois nationalists, driven by notions of ethnic purity, would have disdained such accountability even if it were offered—their sights were set on a separate state.

In the last year of the century there were renewed discussions about the timing of yet another referendum in the province of Quebec, and the federal spokesman of the time assured the public that this time the government was ready. Simultaneously, the same government announced that it was looking at the implications of yet further economic integration with the U.S., including such possible issues as a customs union and a common currency. The message, in the last year of the millennium, was that the dis-integrating forces of "Canada's century" would be carried with it into the first years of the next.

CP PICTURE ARCHIVE / SCOTT APPLEWHITE

At the 1985 "Shamrock Summit" with U.S. president Ronald Reagan in Quebec City, Brian Mulroney, in his first year as prime minister, signalled his government's more conciliatory relationship with the industrial giant to the south, weakening such nationalistic agencies as the Foreign Investment Review Agency and introducing free trade, which, after it passed in 1988, fundamentally altered Canadian-American economic relations.

1988

Jan 2 Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan sign the Free Trade agreement between Canada and the U.S.

Nov 1 Brian Mulroney is re-elected with a majority Progressive Conservative government, signalling his triumph in the fight for free trade.

Dec 15 The Supreme Court of Canada overturns Quebec's language law, Bill 101, which prohibited all non-French signs, posters, and commercial advertising throughout Quebec. On Dec 20, the Quebec National Assembly responds by invoking the notwithstanding clauses of the Canadian and Quebec rights charters to ensure that French remains the only language allowed on commercial signs.

1989

Dec 2 Audrey McLaughlin becomes the first woman to head a national political party in Canada when she is elected leader of the New Democratic Party.

1990

Jun 23 Newfoundland and Manitoba refuse to approve the Meech Lake Accord. The accord is declared dead.

Jul 25 A group of independent Quebec MPs, former members of the Conservative and Liberal parties, including Lucien Bouchard, form the Bloc Québecois.

1992

Aug 28 The Charlottetown Accord proposes turning over more federal powers to the provinces, special status recognition for Quebec, native self-government, and a reformed Senate. In a national referendum Oct 26, Canadians vote against the accord.

1993

Jun 1 Replacing Brian Mulroney as leader of the Progressive Conservative party, Kim Campbell becomes the first female Canadian prime minister.

Oct 25 Jean Chrétien and the Liberals sweep to power with a landslide electoral victory. With one more seat than the Reform Party, the Bloc Québecois becomes the official opposition. The PCs and the NDP lose official party status, signalling the growing power of regional parties in federal politics.

1995

Oct 30 Quebec voters opt for unity in a referendum, narrowly defeating sovereignty 50.6% to 49.4%.

1997

Jun 2 Jean Chrétien and the Liberal party are reelected with the Reform party forming the official opposition. The PCs and the NDP regain official party status.

1998

Aug The Supreme Court of Canada rules that secession of Quebec from Canada must be negotiated with the Canadian government.

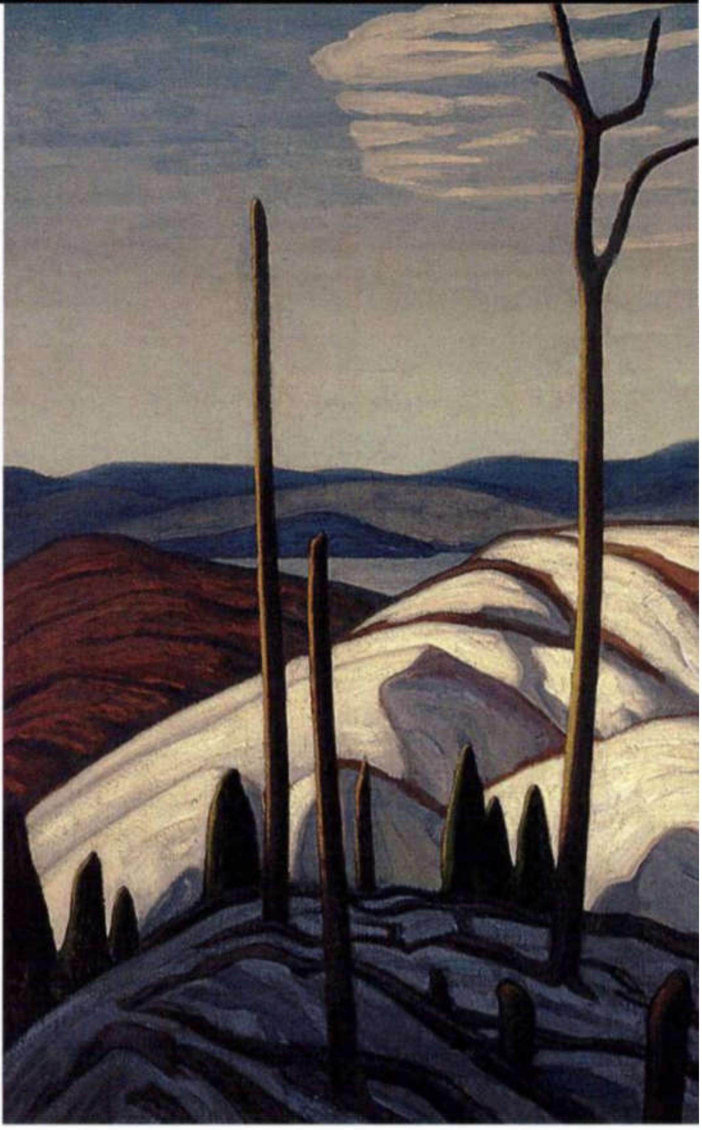
1999

Dec 10 The federal government introduces a clarity bill, setting out guidelines for future referenda and negotiations on provincial secession.

MARIA TIPPETT

Culture

Colonial uncertainty dominated Canadian culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. But then came the Great War. Canada's pallid national identity flamed in the trenches of France, and Canadian artists, with growing self-awareness, began to behold the world in ways uniquely Canadian. By midcentury, the nationalist spirit in Canada was ablaze and the country's creators soared. As the century closed, new and different voices emerged, but ironically, just when Canadian culture seemed its most confident, the cultural environment, in a wired world, seemed most vulnerable.



EXPRESSING

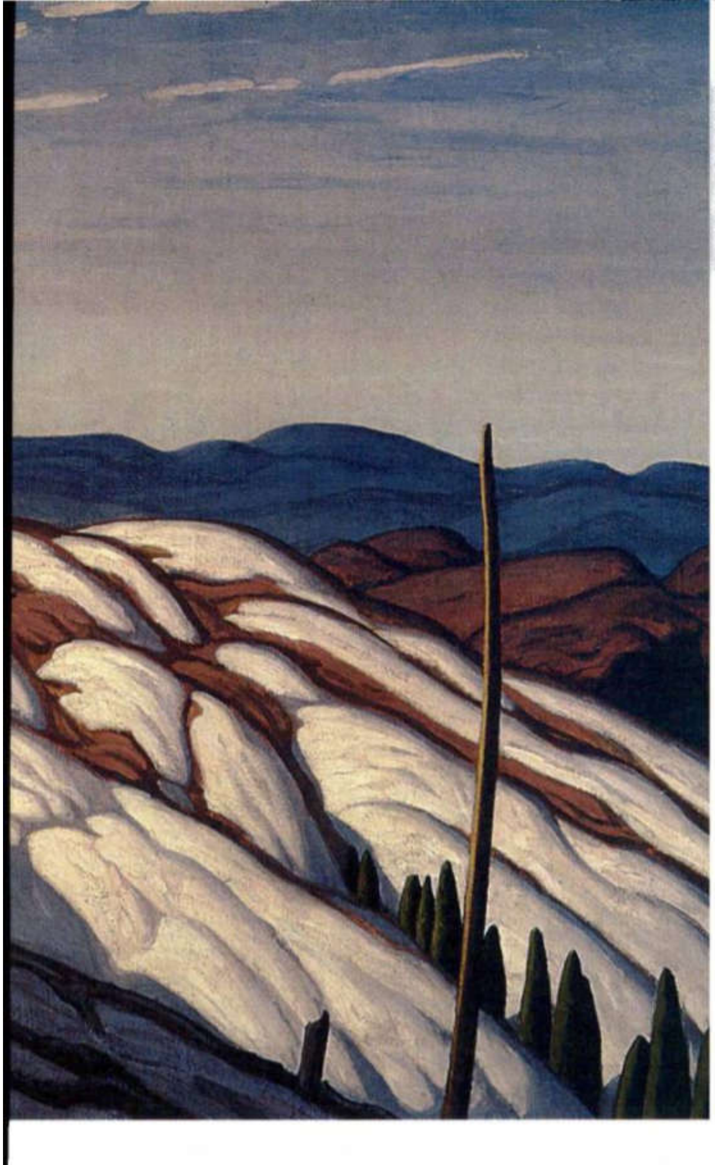
Expressing Identity

IDENTITY

It is a commonplace that, as we enter the third millennium, Canadian culture and Canadian identity are under threat. The reemergence of ethnic nationalism, the critical voice of deconstructionist theory and politically correct thinking, along with the worldwide recession, the revolution in communications technology, and the globalization of culture, are just a few of the things that make it virtually impossible for writers, artists, musicians, and others to speak with one voice. Yet it was no easier for cultural producers, promoters, and patrons during the last century. They had to work against the country's collective sense of negation and difference that thwarted – and continues to thwart – the production of a shared culture.

Southern Canadians have long thought of themselves as a northern people living in close proximity to the wilderness; yet most of them live in cities that are located within three hundred kilometres of the Canadian-American border. Many Canadians like to think of their country as a social democracy having state-supported social and cultural institutions, combined with an American standard of living. Yet the country's small tax base and vast geography, which requires an expensive infrastructure, makes this difficult to achieve. With medicare and gun-control laws in place, they believe that they have a superior lifestyle to the Americans. This does not prevent them from taking their holidays and consuming their popular culture across the border. The homegrown cultural products that the majority of Canadians do identify with, such as First Nations' artifacts and art objects, have little to do with their own experience. The symbols, on the other hand, which represent all Canadians – the country's vast geography, history, religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, the monarchy, and, in the last eighteen years, the Charter of Rights – have served to divide rather than unite its citizens.

For example, English-speaking Canadians take their sense of who they are from who they are not: they know that they are neither British nor American. French-speaking Canadians have a collective sense of who they are, yet they too like to point out that they are different from the French. Those not belonging to the English-speaking or French-speaking groups might have a clear idea of who they are, but their identity is often constructed from out-of-date or reinvented traditions that have no place in the dominant culture, let alone in the Old World or traditional societies from which they came.



VANCOUVER ART GALLERY / TREVOR MILLS

First Snow, North Shore of Lake Superior by Lawren Harris.

Icons of Canadian art, if not of the country itself, the paintings of the Group of Seven, of which Lawren Harris was a founding member, irritated the Canadian art establishment when they were first shown in the 1920s. Influenced by European symbolists and post-impressionists, members of the Group rebelled against the conservative and imitative quality of the art of their day, but by 1933 when the Group disbanded, they themselves had become the establishment. Though not exclusively landscape painters, the members of the Group of Seven frequently painted the northern Ontario countryside, opening them to charges that their work was less representative of the country as a whole than it was of a region.

However much Canadians have been – and continue to be – divided by geography, ethnicity, and language, there were moments during the last century when artists, writers, musicians, and others created works of art that reflected the mental climate of the majority. This happened twice in response to external events: the 1914–1918 War and the Great Depression of the 1930s. On a further occasion the patronage of the Canada Council, Expo '67, and the country's one-hundredth birthday gave Canada's cultural producers an unprecedented focus and a means of support.

It has long been recognized that the Great War was a crucial factor in forging Canadian national identity in a political sense. This is no less true in a cultural sense. Thanks to the efforts of Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere, who set up the Canadian War Memorials Fund in 1916, writers and artists were hired to record on canvas and in print Canada's participation on the home and war fronts. What was painted, written, composed, and sung gave one sector of the country – the English-speaking community – a collective sense of identity for the first time.

Prior to the Great War, Canadians possessed a frag-

1902

Canada's first film production company, the Canadian Bioscope Co., produces *Living in Canada*, a series of films promoting British immigration to Canada.

1906

Dec 24 Canadian inventor Reginald Fessenden airs first public radio broadcast of music and voice.

1908

After being rejected by five different publishers, Lucy Maud Montgomery's first novel, *Anne of Green Gables*, is finally published in the U.S. by the L.C. Page Co.

1910

Nov 8 The Canadian Press, a news-gathering agency, is founded in Toronto to distribute Canadian stories to subsidiary newspapers across the country.

1911

Mar John Bayne Maclean changes the name of the magazine he had founded in 1905 from *Busy Man's Magazine* to *Maclean's*.

1912

Canadian humorist Stephen Leacock publishes *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*.

1913

In Halifax, the Canadian Bioscope Co. produces Canada's first feature film, an adaptation of Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*.

An act of Parliament incorporates the National Gallery of Canada.

1915

Punch publishes the poem "In Flanders Fields," written by John McCrae, a Canadian medical officer stationed at Ypres.

1917

Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere establish the Canadian War Memorials Fund, sponsoring over 80 artists from Britain, Australia, Yugoslavia, and Canada to record WWI.

Jul 8 Famous Canadian painter and inspiration for the Group of Seven, Tom Thomson, mysteriously drowns in Ontario's Algonquin Park.

In Trenton, Ontario, the Adanac Production Co. opens the first Canadian film studios.

1918

Dec The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co. of Canada broadcasts the first radio transmission of music between Montreal and Ottawa.

1920

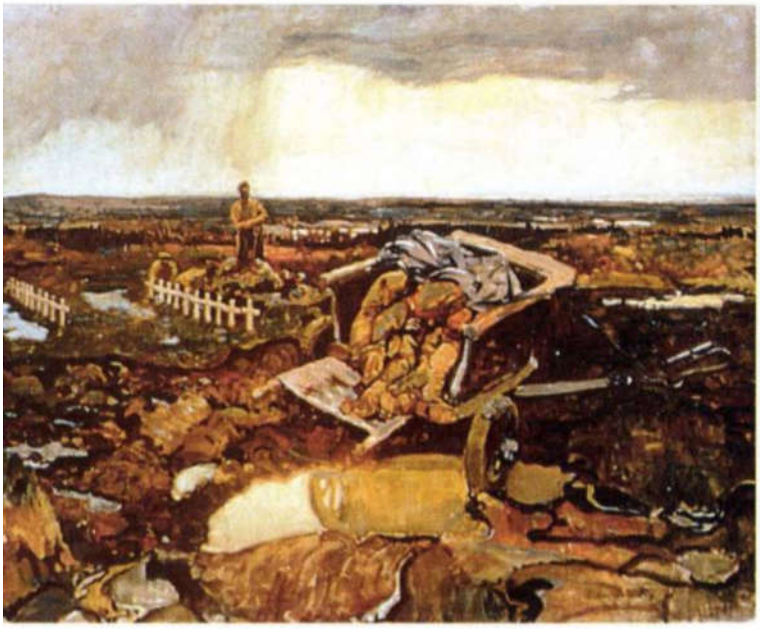
May 7 The Group of Seven's first exhibition opens at the Art Gallery of Toronto featuring 114 paintings by members Frank Carmichael, Franz Johnston, A.Y. Jackson, J.E.H. MacDonald, Arthur Lismer, F.H. Varley, and Lawren Harris.

1921

Mar 21 The Canadian Authors Association (CAA) is officially founded in Montreal to fight against proposed revisions to copyright laws and protect Canadian artists from illegal copying of their original works.

1925

Frederick Philip Grove publishes his novel *Settlers of the Marsh*, said to have introduced realism to Canadian literature.



CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM / CN 8911

The Great War shattered the sunny Edwardian world, shaking social mores and artistic conventions as well. Canadian artists like F.H. Varley, commissioned to illustrate the war in Europe, turned from gentle parochial subject matter to paint bleak antiromantic canvasses recording the horrors of the trenches. Varley's depiction of the gravedigger and decomposing corpses, and the title *For What?*, reflected a profound dismay at the war's senselessness. But the success of the War Art Program strengthened Canadian artists' beliefs in their own judgments and perceptions. The result was an interwar flowering of Canadian art.

mented image of themselves. Writers drew inspiration from their immediate environment. Thus the traditional values of religion, the family, and the land, shared by residents living in the St. Lawrence River valley, were woven into the adventures of Maria Chapdelaine (Louis Hémon). The classic Canadian animal story emerged out of New Brunswick's Tantramar Marsh (Charles G.D. Roberts). The coastal rain forest of northern British Columbia provided the setting for tales of the immigrant logger (Martin Allerdale Grainger). Out of the imaginary town of Mariposa sprang satirical sketches mocking the political and social foibles of small-town Ontario (Stephen Leacock). The song the daughter of a Mohawk chief sang to her paddle shaped the romantic image of Canada's indigenous peoples (Pauline Johnson). And the story of an orphan girl named Anne would forever be associated with Canada's smallest and greenest province, Prince Edward Island (Lucy Maud Montgomery).

Most of what was written and painted before the Great War was, therefore, representative of a particular place or region. Yet it was also partly dependent on what musician and writer Leo Smith termed in the 1930s "foreign walking sticks." Books, essays, and poems were published outside the country. Artists, writers, and musicians took their styles and their standards, and even their artistic, musical, and dramatic training, abroad. The views and opinions of foreign cultural critics took precedence over what was said about Canadians' work at home. The private patron preferred to collect foreign paintings, listen to foreign composers, and attend plays written by British playwrights. It was the same for the country's cultural bureaucrats. Foreign works of art were favoured over local products in public galleries and concert halls across the country.

The Great War changed all of this. By 1916 artists and writers were forced to respond to something outside their local or regional experience. A.Y. Jackson painted shell-blasted trees along the frontline in Belgium and France. David Milne recorded hundreds of desolate graveyards in his spare, dry-brush watercolour style. F.H. Varley placed a gravedigger between a cart-load of decomposing corpses and a large open pit and called the painting *For What?* And the soldier-poet John McCrae gave Canada and the international community a site of memory and of mourning when he wrote the poem *In Flanders Fields*.

After the hostilities ended, the image of the war-torn landscape of France and Flanders resonated through the canvases of A.Y. Jackson, F.H. Varley, and the other artists who formed the Group of Seven in 1920. The memory of the events surrounding the First World War gave writers such as Robert Stead and Charles Yale Harrison a motif for their novels. It also kept a group of soldier-entertainers called the Dumbells humming wartime tunes like "These Wild, Wild Women Are Making a Wild Man of Me" well into the 1920s.

The First World War not only gave Canadian writers, artists, and popular entertainers new subjects for their work. Exposure to Europe's landscape and Old World culture made them view Canada in a new light. Moreover the eagerness with which they responded to the challenge of interpreting Canada's role in the Great War did not go unnoticed. The success of the war artists' exhibition in London, New York, and across Canada demonstrated that Canadian artists were to be taken seriously. The belief that culture had a role to play in the nation-building process unleashed a wave of public and private support for the arts. During the two decades following the Great War, an unprecedented number of plays, poems, novels, and paintings were produced; galleries, concert halls, and academies of music were built; and journals devoted to Canadian culture were founded.

Canadians have never been known to reach for their chequebooks when they hear the words "Canadian culture." But thanks to the wave of nationalism following the Great War, private patrons built concert and theatre halls from Vancouver to Halifax. They helped found academies and schools of music and fine art. They sponsored choirs, orchestras, and literary groups within their own companies. And they sat on the boards of virtually every cultural institution in the country.

Not to be outdone by the private sector, cultural bureaucrats like the director of the National Gallery of Canada, Eric Brown, saw to it that work by the Group of Seven and their contemporaries was not only bought for the national collection, but exhibited across the country and around the world. He encouraged American philanthropic organizations – the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation – to sponsor national art lecture tours, to help found university departments of art and music, to support amateur drama groups, and, from 1933, to hand out funds through a body calling itself the Canadian Committee to public and private cultural institutions across the country. (More than twenty years before the founding of the Canada Council, culture was thus organized on a nationwide basis.)

Canada's British-born governors general were no less committed to the belief that the cultural community could uplift, educate, and unite the country's ethnically diverse population. Following the Great War, they brought amateur and professional artists, writers, musicians, and actors together through the Willingdon Arts Competitions for excellence in music, literature, painting, and sculpture (1928), the Dominion Drama Festival (1932), and the Governor General's Literary Awards (1936). Even an otherwise culturally uninterested Mackenzie King got into the act when his Liberal government licensed the country's first public broadcasting radio station in 1936. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation sponsored Don Henshaw's, Rupert Caplan's, and Tommy Tweed's theatre productions from Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg respectively. It brought live performances of the Toronto Philharmonic Orchestra and the Montreal Symphony Orchestra into homes across the country. And it gave two artists from Montreal and Halifax – Anne Savage and Elizabeth Styring Nutt – an outlet for their critical commentary on Canadian painting and sculpture. Until television surpassed it in the 1960s, CBC radio was the

YOUSUF KARSH COLLECTION / NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-177108

The Dominion Drama Festival was the brainchild of the Earl of Bessborough, governor general of Canada from 1931 to 1935 who, along with his wife, was an enthusiastic amateur actor. Inaugurated in 1932, the festival bridged the period between the 1930s end of foreign touring and vaudeville and the postwar growth of professional theatre in Canada. The DDF was, in effect, Canada's national theatre for several decades. Adjudicators of acting, writing, and production were often Europeans, and the festival was accused of advancing colonial values through such works as The Barretts of Wimpole Street, about English poets Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning (seen here in a 1937 production by Vancouver's Strolling Players), but it nevertheless nurtured the careers of hundreds of Canadian actors, directors, and technicians. The DDF withered away in the 1970s.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-005734

Formed from soldiers of the Third Division Canadian Army (whose insignia was a red dumbbell), the Dumbells entertained front-line soldiers during the First World War. In 1919, a civilian version of the Dumbells was formed. Immensely popular, the revue toured Canada, the U.S, and England for more than a decade, ending in 1933, a casualty of the Depression.

1928

West Coast artist Emily Carr exhibits her work in central Canada, establishing her as a major artist.

1931

Jan 31 The first Canadian radio play, *The Romance of Canada*, debuts on the CNR radio network.

1932

Poet Dorothy Livesay and 34 others organize the Progressive Arts Club to unite writers of the left to fight for social change.

The Dominion Drama Festival is founded to encourage amateur theatre in Canada.

1933

Nov The Quebec radio station, CKAC, broadcasts the first French-Canadian program, *Le Théâtre de J.O. Lambert*.

1936

Nov 2 The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is established as a Crown Corporation, with 8 stations and 16 privately owned affiliates.

1937

Nov 24 The Governor General's Literary Awards are established by the Canadian Authors Association.

1938

The first *Superman* comic book, drawn by Canadian graphic artist Joe Shuster, is published.

Two Englishwomen, Gweneth Lloyd and Betty Farrally, form a ballet club in Winnipeg, the precursor to Canada's first ballet company, The Royal Winnipeg Ballet.

1939

May 2 The National Film Board is founded as a public production agency.

1941

Jun Canada wins its first Oscar at Hollywood's Academy Awards for the documentary *Churchill's Island*.

Sinclair Ross writes one of Canada's first modernist novels, *As For Me and My House*.

Photographer Yousuf Karsh's portrait of Winston Churchill appears on the cover of *Life* magazine, bringing him international fame.

1942

Apr 25 Painter Paul-Émile Borduas founds the *Automatiste* movement in Montreal.

1943

The Canadian War Art Program sponsored by the Department of National Defence hires 30 Canadian artists to visually record the Canadian forces during WWII.

1946

Jack McClelland joins his father's publishing firm, McClelland and Stewart. Over the next three decades he supports and publishes Canadian writers, helping to develop a CanLit tradition.

1947

Franco-Manitoban writer Gabrielle Roy's first novel, *Bonheur d'occasion* (*The Tin Flute*) wins the Prix Fémina French literary award.

1948

Artist James Houston arrives in the Arctic to develop an indigenous art industry among the Inuit.

THE BEAVER BOOK CLUB

THE BEAVER BOOK CLUB offers a convenient way to obtain selected Canadian books–primarily those dealing with historical or biographical subjects–at significant savings. Selection may vary with each issue of *The Beaver.*

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Bruce W. Hodgins, John Jennings, Doreen Small, Editors

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I HAVE LIVED HERE SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People *by Arthur J. Ray*

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EARLY CANADIAN TIMEKEEPERS *by Jane Varkaris & James E. Connell*

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by Barry Broadfoot

The book that launched the oral history genre in Canada. A classic grass-roots history of the depression era, the Dirty Thirties, as told by more than 600 ordinary men and women who lived to tell about it. 464 pp., B & W photos. Publisher's List Price $19.99; **Club Price $12.** (paper)

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CBC radio broadcasts–365 of the author's best–in book form; one engaging story a day, with the story coinciding with the anniversary date. Bob Johnstone is recipient of the 1998 Pierre Berton Award for "achievement in popularizing Canadian history." 366 pp. illus. Publisher's List Price $19.95; **Club Price $14.** (paper)

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strongest cultural force in the country.

Much of what was produced under the label of national culture during the interwar years came from Toronto. The Toronto-based Group of Seven claimed to represent all of Canada, though their most memorable subjects came from northern Ontario or, in A.Y. Jackson's case, from rural Quebec. (The Group's reluctance to accept anyone into their ambit who did not share their "nationalist project" disqualified the Montreal-based artists and writers who looked to the modernist French School for inspiration. It also ensured that the work of Emily Carr, Miller Brittain, and others outside of Toronto would be forever deemed as "regional.") In the print medium, Toronto's *Canadian Forum* purported to cover the nation while the *McGill Fortnightly Review* (1925–27) represented Montreal. And in music Toronto's Conservatory of Music set the standard for every serious musician across the country.

This centralist view of culture confined the cultural activity of "new Canadians" to the CPR's annual folk-art and handicraft festivals. Or to the community halls. (The Jewish Workmen's Circle produced plays, Chinese dramatic societies staged Bak Wah Kek or skits, while the Ukrainians and Finns sang in Prosvita halls, labour temples, and *haali*.) The cultural traditions of Canada's indigenous peoples and the *habitant* were given even less space in the dominant culture. They were appropriated on the canvases of Emily Carr and James Wilson Morrice, in the musical scores of Ernest MacMillan, and in the poems of Duncan Campbell Scott.

Cultural domination by Toronto, and to a lesser extent by Montreal, left artists, writers, musicians, and dancers living in the regions with three choices. They could, firstly, conform to what might be called "the *faux* nationalist project" by moving to these cities. The artist Bertram Brooker and the writer Gabrielle Roy made good when they moved from Winnipeg to Toronto and Montreal respectively. The country's first art journal, *Maritime Art*, only received "national" status when its editorship relocated in Toronto where it was renamed *Canadian Art*.

The HAPPY GANG
EDDIE ALLEN
GEORGE TEMPLE
BERT PEARL
BLAIN MATHE
KAY STOKES
BOB FARNON
HUGH BARTLETT

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / CBC COLLECTION

Knock, knock. Who's there? The Happy Gang. Well, c'mon in! So began one of the most popular programs on CBC radio from the late 1930s to the 1950s, broadcast lunchtime every weekday. In the 1920s, when radio became a mass medium in Canada, programming was dominated by polished American product. In response, the federal government set up the first public broadcasting radio station in 1936, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was born. Though American content continued on air, more and better Canadian programs became available. Until television surpassed it in the 1960s, CBC radio was the strongest cultural force in the country.

Those living outside of Toronto could, secondly, remain in the regions and establish their reputations abroad. Gwen Pharis Ringwood did this by having her play, *One Man's House* and *Still Stands the House*, premiered at the University of North Carolina. Martha Ostenso's novel *Wild Geese* was recognized in Toronto only after it won the American *Pictorial Review*'s prize for best novel of the year. And the Winnipeg-born composer Barbara Pentland found an appreciative audience for her avant-garde musical compositions in New York.

Cultural producers living on the periphery could finally find inspiration and fame by taking the road that led outside of the country. Claude Champagne composed his *Suite canadienne* while studying in Paris during the 1920s. A decade earlier Emily Carr discovered the forest as a motif for her art in a small wood above St. Ives harbour in Cornwall. Guy Lombardo made an international reputation for his dance

However much the work of central Canada's *faux* nationalists was privileged over what came from the periphery, it could not speak for the whole country when the Depression hit.

1949

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences (Massey Commission) is formed to seek ways to encourage a distinctively Canadian culture.

1950

Cité Libre magazine is first published, signalling Quebec's Quiet Revolution.

1951

Jun 1 The Massey Commission report is released, recommending greater government encouragement and support for the arts through the creation of an arts funding body.

Nov 12 The National Ballet of Canada, founded by Celia Franca, debuts in Toronto.

1952

Sep Canada's first TV stations, the bilingual station CBFT in Montreal and the English station CBLT in Toronto, begin broadcasting.

1953

Jul 13 The Stratford Festival, under the artistic direction of Tyrone Guthrie, opens its first season with *Richard III*, starring Alec Guinness.

1955

Canadian pianist Glenn Gould receives international acclaim following his recording of Bach's *Goldberg Variations*.

1956

Leonard Cohen publishes his first book of poetry, *Let Us Compare Mythologies*.

1957

Northrop Frye publishes *Anatomy of Criticism*, which examines the role of literary criticism in the study of the humanities and social sciences.

Mar 28 The Canada Council is established to encourage the study, production, and enjoyment of the arts and social sciences.

1958

Jul 16 The Manitoba Theatre Centre, Canada's first regional theatre, holds its first performance in Winnipeg.

Oct 2 Four professors of literature at the University of Ottawa found the Centre for Research on French Canadian Culture to encourage study and research of francophone culture.

Les Grands Ballets Canadiens is founded in Montreal.

1959

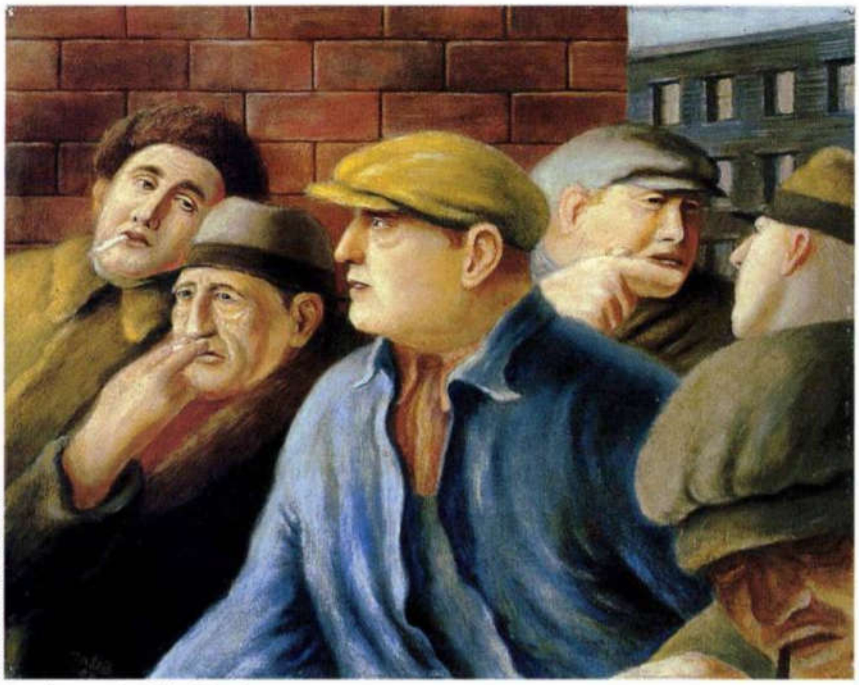
Mordecai Richler's novel, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, is published.

Haida carver Bill Reid and Nimpkish carver Douglas Cranmer reconstruct totem poles and a traditional Haida house for the UBC Museum of Anthropology. This establishes Reid as a leader of the Northwest Coast native art revival.

The Canadian Music Centre (CMC) is founded to support Canadian composers and to promote and distribute their music.

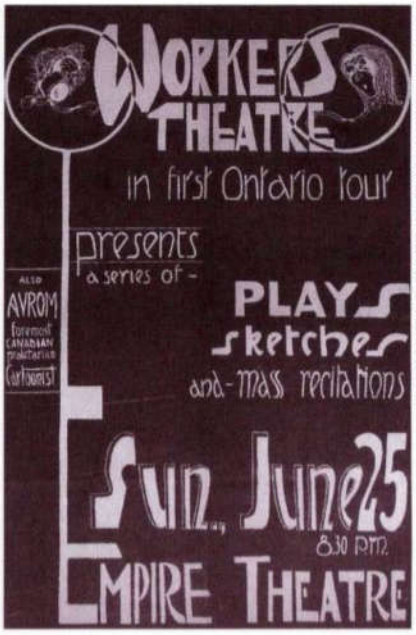
1960

Nov 2 The National Theatre School opens in Montreal.


NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA

Longshoremen by Miller Brittain

Like many artists during the Great Depression, New Brunswick-born Miller Brittain turned his attention to the social world and its conditions, painting labourers at work, ordinary people on crowded streetcars, or vagrants outside pubs.



TOBY GORDON RYAN COLLECTION / UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

In the 1930s many artists and writers were moved to address the social conditions wrought by the Great Depression, often sponsored by various political organizations. With representation in most major Canadian cities, the Workers' Theatre movement, usually consisting of unemployed workers, used agit-prop techniques to get its points across, the most common form of which was choral mass chant. After World War II, however, political theatre waned.

band, the Royal Canadians, when he took them to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1923. And two dancers from British Columbia put their art on a professional basis by joining Diaghilev's famous Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Indeed, Denis Myers and Jean Hunt forsook more than their country. When the dance company toured Canada in the 1920s, they had become Alexandra Denisova and Kira Bounina.

However much the work of central Canada's *faux* nationalists was privileged over what came from the periphery, it could not speak for the whole country when the Depression hit the country in the early 1930s. As if in answer to Frederick Philip Grove's call a decade earlier for "socially significant" novels in which "crises and characters must be reflective of contemporary social conditions," writers representing all regions of the country – Irene Baird, Morley Callaghan, Gabrielle Roy, and Mary Quayle Innis – put pen to paper. So, too, did the country's artists and dramatists. Miller Brittain painted the unemployed longshoremen in Saint John. Leonard Hutchinson produced hard-edged woodcuts *Protest* and *Breadline*. And Carl Schaefer recorded the rusting agricultural machinery that he found lying in fallow fields in southern Ontario. In *Waste Heritage* Irene Baird dramatized the plight of the unemployed in British Columbia. And in *Relief* Millie Evans Bicknell told of the intolerable conditions facing the prairie farmers who had been forced to part with their implements and livestock.

It was not just unemployment that rallied the country's artists. The activities of the Communist Party of Canada, the labour unions, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (to become the NDP), the popular front against fascism, and the collapse of the Republicans in Spain set off a wave of activity. Dorothy Livesay and musician Jan Isnai Ismay wrote words and music for plays, songs, and mass chants. Earle Birney composed political poems. And a young worker from Montreal named Sidney Nicholls created the rousing mass recitation *Eviction*, which dramatized the shooting of an unemployed worker, Nick Zynchuck, by Montreal police in March 1933.

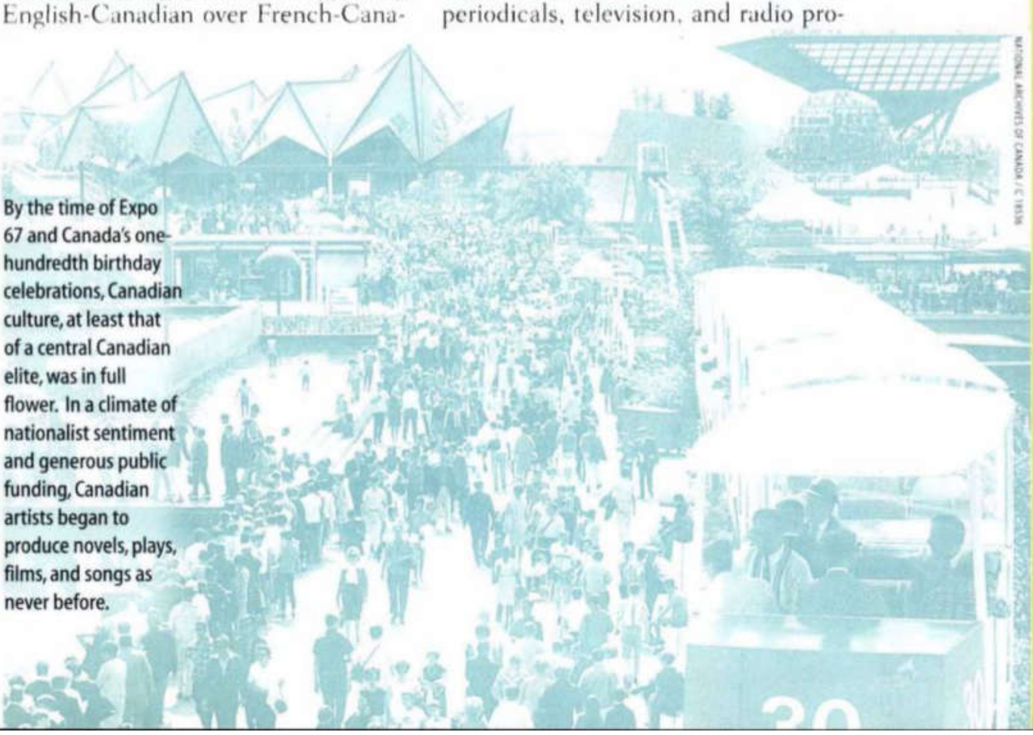
This nationwide response to the social and political turmoil of the 1930s was short-lived. The signing of the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany and the outbreak of the Second World War made it clear that change was not going to be brought about by the poems and woodcuts that appeared in journals like *Masses* and *New Frontier*, or by the plays that were performed on the streets and in theatres across the country. Even so, what was produced at the height of the Depression showed that culture could best establish its claims if all of its forms – art, music, literature, and drama – emanating from all areas of the country were rallied behind one cause.

While patronage of the arts was haphazard and sporadic, amateur and professional cultural producers had more venues for their work than before the war. They had a place to study and teach, to perform, publish, and exhibit. Above all, they had larger audiences than had previously been the case. Prairie farmers and their wives drove hundreds of miles to attend the semifinal performances of the drama and music festivals. Ontarians crowded into the big tents set up by the Chautauqua Institute to hear Charles G.D. Roberts and Bliss Carman read their poems. And museums and galleries in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, and Montreal had attendance records that today's gallery directors would envy.

When the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences published its report in 1951 and the Canada Council was founded six years later, the nationalist culture was institutionalized. The commissioners, headed by Vincent Massey, favoured supporting high culture over low, the professional creator over the part-time amateur. They espoused an elitist moral vision of culture, which continued to ignore Canadians who did not belong to the English, and to a lesser extent to the French, linguistic groups. Above all they offered no antidote to the postwar infusion into Canada of American mass culture. They simply believed that Canadians would prefer to support homegrown high culture over foreign imports.

When the members of the Canada Council met in 1957 they carried out the spirit of the report. They favoured funding national over local or provincial cultural organizations; supporting English-Canadian over French-Canadian cultural institutions; established over unestablished groups and individuals; professional over amateur performers; and groups over individuals. Amateur producers thus found themselves closed out by the new emphasis on training, education, international exposure, and higher standards. And new Canadians continued to be left out in the cold. While the council was willing to fund folksong collecting in Quebec and native Indian carving projects in British Columbia, it was reluctant to support the development of the "national cultures" of new Canadians when the Canadian government had a policy of integration. It sometimes seemed that the emergence of a cultural bureaucracy in the form of the Canada Council limited rather than enhanced creativity, just as it would sometimes encourage an unhealthy competition for funding.

Despite its shortcomings, the existence of a government agency for the arts did improve the climate for many anglophone and francophone cultural producers. Cultural programs and institutions like the Art Bank, the National Library of Canada, and Telefilm Canada came into being. Private cultural organizations like the National Ballet of Canada and Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, along with theatres and publishing houses, were kept afloat by generous grants from the Canada Council. An attempt was even made to combat the influx of American periodicals, television, and radio pro-



By the time of Expo 67 and Canada's one-hundredth birthday celebrations, Canadian culture, at least that of a central Canadian elite, was in full flower. In a climate of nationalist sentiment and generous public funding, Canadian artists began to produce novels, plays, films, and songs as never before.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C 18536

1964

Marshall McLuhan, communications theorist and U. of T. English professor, publishes *Understanding Media*, coining such phrases as "the medium is the message" and "the global village."

Margaret Laurence publishes the novel *The Stone Angel*.

1967

The Canadian Film Development Corporations (Telefilm Canada) is established in Montreal "to foster and promote the development of a feature film industry in Canada."

Expo '67, held in Montreal from Apr 28 to Oct 27, is the focal point of Canada's 100th birthday celebrations, host to over 50 million visitors, and a showcase for such architects as Moshe Safdie (Habitat '67) and Arthur Erickson (Man in His Community).

The National Library opens in Ottawa.

The Toronto-based literary press, House of Anansi, is founded by David Godfrey and becomes known for its strong nationalist commitment to publishing experimental fiction, poetry, and criticism as well as the translations of young Quebec writers.

1968

Apr 1 The Canadian Radio-Television Commission (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission as of 1976), is established to regulate and supervise Canadian broadcasting.

1969

Jun Ottawa's National Arts Centre opens as a major national facility for theatre, opera, music, and dance.

The Independent Publishers Association, precursor to the Association of Canadian Publishers, is organized to protect the interests of the indigenous press industry.

1970

Robertson Davies publishes *Fifth Business*, the first of his Deptford trilogy, which explores the theories of Jungian psychology.

The Gold Leaf Awards are held to honour the best of the Canadian music industry. The following year, the ceremony is renamed the Juno Awards.

The Arthur Erickson–designed Canadian pavilion receives the top architecture prize at Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan.

1972

Margaret Atwood publishes *Surfacing* and *Survival: The Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*.

Quebec writer Michel Tremblay publishes his play *Les Belles Soeurs*, bringing the Quebec street language, *joual*, to the stage for the first time.

1973

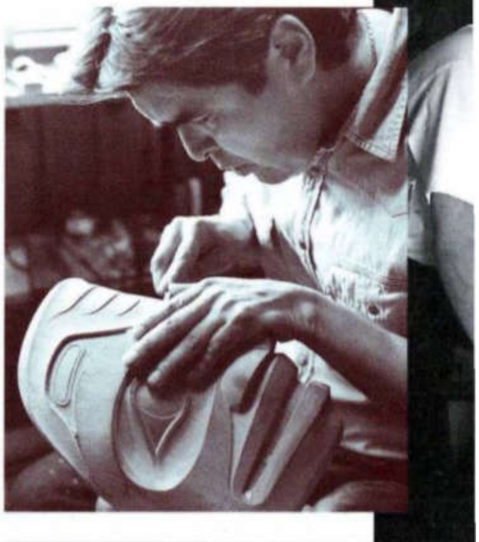
Jun 28 At Niagara-on-the-Lake, the new Shaw Festival Theatre designed by Ronald Thom is opened by Queen Elizabeth II.

1977

Author and actor Timothy Findley's *The Wars* is published. It wins the Governor General's Award.

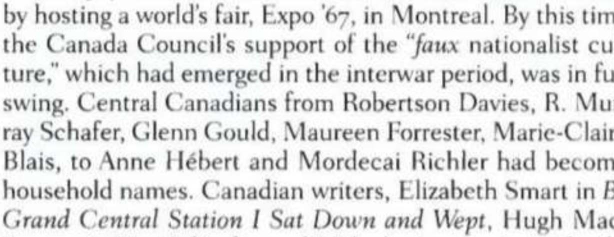
grams. In 1964 the federal government made an effort to rework cultural law and policy by establishing a committee on broadcasting; three years later it set up the Canadian Film Development Corporation; and in 1970 the Senate Committee on Mass Media tabled its report.

Public organizations like the National Film Board of Canada, founded in 1939, also got a shot in the arm. The introduction in the 1960s of lightweight equipment, the experimentations of the brilliant animator Norman McLaren, and the emergence of the direct cinema movement, along with the appointment of a French-Canadian commissioner, Guy Roberge, revitalized the NFB. By the end of the 1960s it was a world-class film unit. Not to be outdone by the NFB, the emergence of CBC television made Canadians confront controversial political and social issues in such programs as *This Hour Has Seven Days*.


ULLI STELTZER

Robert Davidson (right) carving a totem pole in his studio in White Rock, B.C. Master carver, printmaker, and jeweller, Davidson, a Haida, born in Alaska in 1946, has brought innovation to traditional Northwest Coast images and design. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, artists like Davidson outside the dominant central Canadian elite began to stake their claim in the public imagination, broadening the definition of Canadian culture.

In 1967 Canada celebrated its one-hundredth birthday by hosting a world's fair, Expo '67, in Montreal. By this time the Canada Council's support of the "*faux* nationalist culture," which had emerged in the interwar period, was in full swing. Central Canadians from Robertson Davies, R. Murray Schafer, Glenn Gould, Maureen Forrester, Marie-Claire Blais, to Anne Hébert and Mordecai Richler had become household names. Canadian writers, Elizabeth Smart in *By Grand Central Station I Sat Down and Wept*, Hugh MacLennan in *Two Solitudes*, and Malcolm Lowery in *Under the Volcano*, had already produced international bestsellers. Farley Mowat made Canadians, and others, confront ecological issues in the novel *Never Cry Wolf*. And Central Canadian soothsayer, Marshall McLuhan, and literary theoretician, Northrop Frye, led the international debate on technology and literary criticism. Inuit and native artists found themselves favoured by government officials who had little time for the abstract canvases of *les automatistes*, the Painters Eleven, and the Regina Five. George Ryga's 1967 play, *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe*, spoke for First Nations' people. Margaret Laurence wove Cree legends and the Métis into her Manawaka novels. And in 1965, Hubert Aquin dealt with Quebec's separatists in *Prochain épisode*. Popular culture was more representative of the country as a whole. Leonard Cohen, Anne Murray, Gordon Lightfoot, Ian and Sylvia Tyson, and Gilles Vigneault made people on both sides of the border sing "Suzanne", "Snowbird", "Early Morning Rain", "Four Strong Winds", and "Mon Pays."

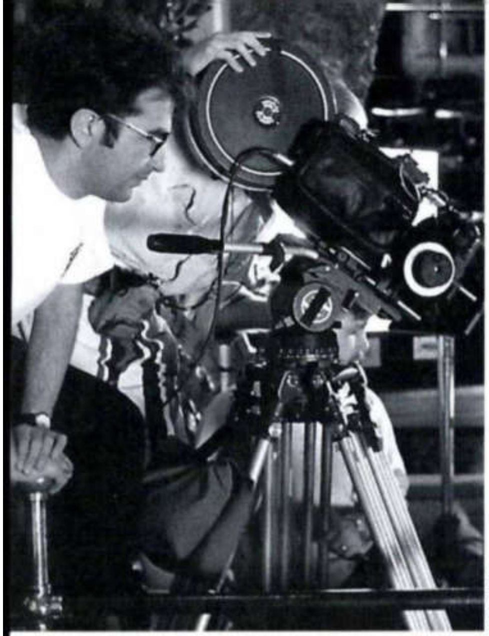

GM
Coke
RAMBO XI
WHAT'S REALLY SCARY IS THAT WE CANADIANS COULD LOSE CONTROL OF OUR CULTURE–
MIAMI
FREE TRADE
GABLE
BRIAN GABLE / REGINA LEADER POST

As the twentieth century drew to a close, Canadian culture was no longer primarily the construction of a small central Canadian elite. In addition to internal challenges from artists with multicultural backgrounds, dissenting academics, and downsizing governments, culture had to contend with powerful external forces including multinational conglomerates, the Internet, and free trade.

Thanks to funding from the Canada Council and the wave of nationalism engendered by the new Canadian flag and by Expo '67, the professional cultural producer superseded the amateur. The star system had turned culture – as Marshall McLuhan predicted it would – into a business. But it was not just public money that accounted for the sheer quantity of cultural production. Canadians responded to gay rights by producing writers the stature of Jane Rule and David Watmough and playwrights the calibre of Michel Tremblay. The fallout from French and American feminism gave Canadian women, who had been marginalized in the grant-grubbing game, a fairer chance. Margaret Atwood represented them in her novels, faithful chronicles of their period.

By the 1990s Canadian culture was no longer being invented and constructed by a small elite in Central Canada. The worldwide resurgence of ethnic nationalism prompted those groups who had been excluded from the national cultural project to demand a place in it. Suddenly native playwrights, artists, writers, architects, and filmmakers like Tomson Highway, Robert Davidson, George Kenny, Douglas Cardinal, and Alanis Obomsawin were speaking for themselves. Writers of Italian and Chinese ethnicity were receiving the Governor General's Award for fiction. And women were directing public art galleries; one, Joyce Zemans, even presided over the Canada Council.

The emergence of deconstructionist theory, which seeks to expose underlying cultural assumption, and politically cor-



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HARRY PALMER / NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 182191

In the last decades of the twentieth century, a new generation of artists less attached to the norms of the central Canadian cultural elite, such as filmmaker Atom Egoyan (above), began to take centre stage.

New Brunswick novelist Antonine Maillet (left), the first non-French author to receive France's Prix Goncourt, is another example of the artistic diversity that brought Canadian culture increasing world attention.

rect thinking also challenged the "*faux* nationalist culture." Emily Carr's paintings, the tunes that Ernest MacMillan had set to Quebec folksongs and native dirges, and the poems of William Henry Drummond and Duncan Campbell Scott were viewed through deconstructionist lenses. Similarly the Group of Seven were now referred to as the Ontario Group of Seven. Even Inuit carvings came under scrutiny as it became known that the educator and government employee, James Houston, had made pattern books for the Inuit carvers based on his knowledge of contemporary British sculpture – especially Henry Moore – and the demands of the nonnative purchasers.

The worldwide recession also had a part in undermining the national cultural project in Canada. It prompted the federal government to hand over some of its cultural territory to the provinces. (Decentralization, along with funding cuts to the CBC, the Canada Council, the NFB, and private organizations like the National Ballet of Canada, has weakened the institutions that have played a major role for half a century in defining the country.) The government's insistence that culture pay its own way has fostered blockbuster, crowd-drawing exhibitions devoted to foreign artists. The need to fill seats in the concert halls has given preference to the compositions of the three B's and the big M, much to the detriment of Canada's composers.

The emergence of multinational conglomerates and the revolution in communications technology has posed a fourth and final challenge to the cultural nationalist project. Will CBC television be able to compete with a hundred channels? And will Canadians experience a crisis of identity when these new forms and technologies send them too many messages?

While all of these factors have weakened the dominant culture over the last twenty-five years, they have given rise to a more diversified and representative form of culture. It is our very diversity that has allowed Canadian authors like Michael Ondaatje to win the Booker Prize and Antonine Maillet to be the first non-French author to receive the Prix Goncourt. Moreover, Canadian singers and musicians are playing in opera houses and concert halls around the world. Canadian compositions and plays are performed at the Edinburgh and Salzburg Festivals. Canadian art is exhibited in every international art fair. The productions of Canadian filmmakers – Atom Egoyan, Patricia Rozema, and Denys Arcand – are seen on more screens outside than inside Canada. The jazz pianist Oscar Peterson and popular actors Michael J. Fox and Pamela Anderson are household names at home and abroad, while the stunning voice of the Quebec diva Céline Dion launched and sank one very big ship in the film, *Titanic*.

If national identity arises out of the comparison and the competition of nations, perhaps Canada's best self-portrait has been painted by foreign observers. As Canada enters the new millennium, it is clear that there is a place for its cultural producers on the international level. The changing nature and meaning of cultural activity itself demands that we participate, because even though we can't change the past, we can certainly improve on the future. ◆

1980

Mar 20 Bruno Gerussi hosts the first annual Genie Awards in Toronto, a two-day event honouring the best Canadian films.

1982

The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, chaired by Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert, uses the term "cultural industry," acknowledging the major contribution cultural activities make to the economy.

1983

Métis architect Douglas Cardinal designs the $93-million Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec.

1984

The Cirque du Soleil presents its first production in Gaspé, Quebec.

Canadian writer William Gibson publishes *Neuromancer*, establishing the "cyberpunk" trend in science fiction and coining the phrase "cyperspace."

1986

May 2 Expo '86 opens in Vancouver, B.C. By the time it ends on Oct 13, it attracts over 20 million visitors.

Dec 3 The first annual Gemini Awards are held in Toronto to honour the best of Canadian television.

Cree writer Tomson Highway publishes his play *The Rez Sisters*, bringing realistic native experiences to mainstream audiences across Canada. He wins both the Chalmers and Dora Mavor Moore awards.

Robert Lepage's one-man theatrical piece, *Vinci*, opens in Montreal.

1988

The federal government reforms the Copyright Act to increase protection against copying of computer programs, choreography, photography and films.

1990

The National Gallery purchases the painting *Voice of Fire* (1976, by American artist Barnett Newman) for $1.76 million.

1991

Rohinton Mistry publishes his first novel, *Such a Long Journey*, which wins the Governor General's Award and Commonwealth Writer's Prize.

Generation X by Canadian Douglas Coupland introduces the term GenX to the world.

1992

Michael Ondaatje becomes the first Canadian to win the Booker Prize, for his novel *The English Patient*.

1993

Manitoba writer Carol Shields publishes *The Stone Diaries*, which goes on to win the Pulitzer Prize, the Governor General's Award, and the National Critics Circle Award.

1995

May 29 The Mounted Police Foundation gives Disney Corp. control over products displaying the Mountie image.

1999

Jul 6 American actors and movie crews protest in California over the loss of movie and television jobs to Canada.

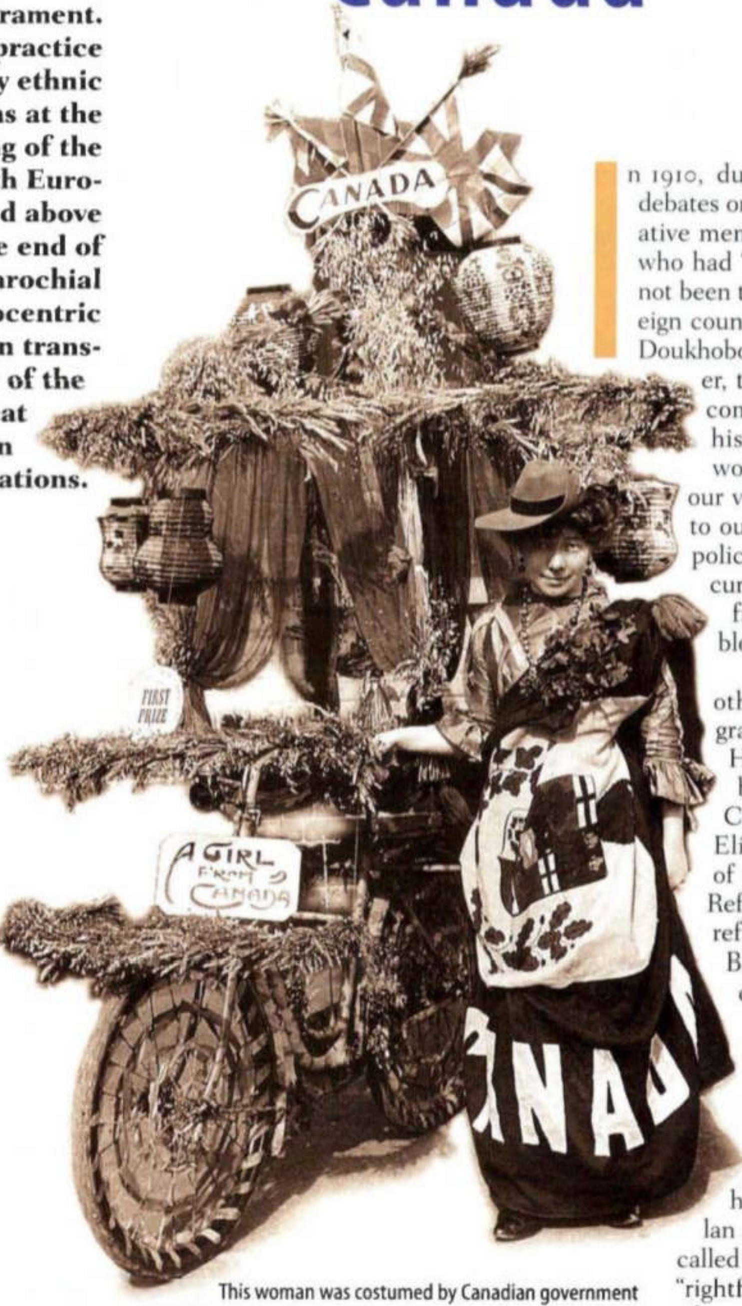
DONALD AVERY

Immigration

PEOPLING CANADA

Peopling Canada

Spur to Canada's population growth and economic development, immigration has also held a mirror to Canadians' values and temperament. Immigration practice was driven by ethnic considerations at the beginning of the century, with Europeans favoured above all. But by the end of the century, a parochial and ethnocentric colony had been transformed into one of the world's great cosmopolitan nations.



This woman was costumed by Canadian government agent H.M Murray for the Exeter (England) Carnival parade in 1907. Designed to promote Canada to prospective British settlers, this representation of bounty and achievement won first prize.

S.A. CHANDLER / NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-063256

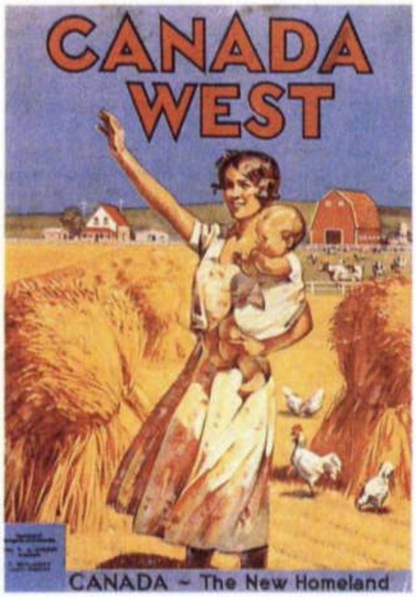
In 1910, during the House of Commons debates on the Immigration Act, Conservative members charged that immigrants who had "come from Great Britain have not been treated as well as those from foreign countries, such as the Galicians and Doukhobors." In his rebuttal, Frank Oliver, the minister of the Interior, felt compelled to point out that while his department sought men who would "secure the settlement of our vacant lands … and … by adding to our labour. … in carrying out this policy we use due endeavour to secure the additions to our population from the people of our own blood. … people of our own race."

On November 30, 1999, another heated debate over immigration policies took place in the House of Commons, this time between the Liberal minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Elinor Caplan, and Keith Martin of the Reform party. At issue was Reform's denunciation of Canada's refugee determination system: "In British Columbia we have hundreds of false refugees come to our shores. This represents only 5 percent of people who are coming illegally; 95 percent come by plane. The present system supports the government which support[s] human trafficking." While Caplan acknowledged the problem, she called upon Canadians to direct their "rightful anger towards the criminals who seek profit in human suffering rather than towards those victims who in search of a better life allow themselves to be put into slavery." She stressed that all refugee claimants would be given a fair hearing in keeping with Canada's "compassionate and humanitarian traditions."

In assessing these two debates, it is important to remember that Canada has gone through many demographic and social changes during the twentieth century. And while immigration has been a constant feature of Canadian life, the background of immigrants coming in 1999 are quite different from those arriving in 1910. In the earlier period, the overwhelming majority of newcomers were of British or European background. In contrast, today more than 80 percent of all immigrants come from outside the traditional regions of Britain, Europe, and the U.S.A, with Asian immigrants alone representing 55 percent of the total. Yet despite these changes in ethnic composition, the proportion of immigrants in the Canadian population has remained relatively constant since the 1920s, when about 16 percent of Canadians were born outside the country. However, now most newcomers (94 percent) live in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta, with over half (57 percent) in the three largest metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

These demographic factors have had a marked impact on public opinion, then and now, and help to explain why Canadians have often questioned their country's role as one of the world's most active immigration nations. Of course, generosity of outlook has varied substantially over time, reflecting a shifting standard of ethnic and racial acceptability, and depending on whether immigrants were required "for the jobs Canadians won't do." However, many central questions remain the same. How many newcomers should be admitted at any one time? What occupational skills are most required? Would the new arrivals be a drain on the economy and the social welfare system? Do certain immigrant groups and refugees create special problems for Canadian society? To what extent should Canada's commitment to international humanitarian principles influence the country's immigration policies?

At the time of Confederation, Canada was overwhelmingly British in ethnic origin. Anglo-Canadians dominated the economic and political life of the country. They also determined the goals and recruitment strategies of immigration – sometimes in the face of opposition from Quebec. Yet immigration recruitment in the three decades after Confederation was not very successful. Many emigrants from western Europe and Great Britain felt that economic and social opportunities were far superior in the United States, as did many nineteenth-century Canadians; in fact by 1900, over a million former Canadians had moved to the American republic.



BEAVER COLLECTION

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Canadian government made a concerted push to induce immigrants to settle the West, organizing advertising campaigns that went of necessity beyond Britain and the United States to central and eastern Europe.

This immigration pattern would change after the election of Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government in 1896. The new administration, with Manitoba's Clifford Sifton directing its immigration efforts, coincided with a period of worldwide prosperity that, in a Canadian context, focused on the development of the West as an essential component of a new national policy. To make this dream a reality, strong, willing workers were needed to cultivate the vast acres of virgin prairie, to build the new transcontinental railroads, and to supply the manpower for an expanding industrial system. Thus the Laurier government turned with enthusiasm to attracting new immigrants not only from the traditional

1867

The British North America Act places immigration matters within the joint responsibility of the Dominion and provincial governments. In practice, however, Ottawa soon establishes its primacy in this area.

1896

Clifford Sifton, Laurier's minister of the interior, announces plans for the largest immigration drive in Canadian history to settle Canada's West, admitting entrance to agricultural settlers from places outside of Britain, Western Europe, and the U.S.

1900

Feb 1 A head tax on Chinese workers entering Canada rises from the original $50 (imposed in 1885), to $100 because of growing fear that the large influx of Asian labourers would replace white workers in British Columbia.

Jul 23 A proclamation prohibits the immigration of criminals or "paupers" to Canada.

Jul 23 Canada requests that the Japanese government restrict the number of immigrants, concerned that Japanese immigrants are supplanting Canadian workers in fishing and farming.

1902

Apr 30 2,692 immigrants arrive in Halifax via the steamer *Bulgaria*, the largest boatload of immigrants Canada had ever seen at the time. Most of the immigrants are Jewish, Ukrainian, Italian, and German.

1903

The Chinese head tax rises to $500, preventing Chinese women from coming to Canada with their husbands, who cannot afford such a steep amount.

1906

The Immigration Act of 1906 expands the government's power to exclude undesirables such as prostitutes, the insane and mentally handicapped, and anyone with a contagious illness or a physical defect.

1907

Sep 7 Angry members of Vancouver's Asiatic Exclusion League descend on Chinese and Japanese districts to protest the influx of Asian immigrants and cause several thousand dollars in damage. As a result of negotiations, Japan agrees to limit the number of its nationals coming to Canada.

1909

James Shaver Woodsworth, a Methodist minister and humanitarian reformer from Winnipeg, publishes his influential book on immigration, *Strangers Within Our Gates*, asserting that non-English-speaking immigrants are "undesirable" if unable to assimilate into Canadian society.

1910

The Immigration Act of 1910 gives the cabinet unlimited power to prohibit immigration to Canada based on ethnicity or occupational skills and the right to deport any immigrants on the grounds of immorality or political beliefs.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 10401

Galicians at Quebec, 1911. The first major influx of non-British immigrants to Canada, which occurred between 1891 and 1914, was from Galicia, a historic region in what is now southeastern Poland and western Ukraine, and from Bukovina, now part of southwestern Ukraine and northeastern Romania. Some 170,000 peasants arrived before the outbreak of the Great War.

sources such as Great Britain, western Europe, and the United States, but also from central and southern Europe, and even Asia. This shift in focus was not well received by some Anglo-Canadian nationalists.

One aspect of this immigration debate revolved around the importance of racial and cultural characteristics as criteria for entry into Canada. Although many entrepreneurs pressed for the large-scale importation of nonwhite immigrants who would function as an industrial proletariat, the Canadian public was generally hostile to the entry of ethnic groups who they believed were nonassimilable. The undesirable qualities of the nonwhite races, it was argued, sprang from genetic and racial traits that would not be altered by contact with Canadian society. In contrast, few restrictions were imposed against Caucasian immigrants. Despite some undesirable behavioural traits ascribed to ethnic and national groups from central and southern Europe, Anglo-Canadian immigration "boosters" claimed that these were the result of their past cultural and environmental background. Time and Anglo-Canadian institutions, it was held, would ultimately erase these differences and ease the absorption of all-white immigrants into the Anglo-Canadian community. Significantly, most Canadians accepted these assurances, and the country's immigration policies remained expansionist and Eurocentric until the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Between 1896 and 1930, Canada's rapid population growth and ethnic diversification presented serious implications for the future of the country. While the settled regions of eastern Canada retained their English-French cultural dualism, the developing regions to the north and west of the Great Lakes became more pluralistic. Newly emerging ethnic communities and some Canadian charitable groups helped the newcomers cope with linguistic isolation and an unfamiliar social and economic environment, including, for many, the transition from a rural to urban way of life. But economic and cultural discrimination from both anglophone and francophone host societies created formidable difficulties for many immigrants, a trend exacerbated by the severe economic slump of the Great Depression, when xenophobia and anti-Semitism flourished.

Prior to 1930, Anglo-Canadians had often expressed concern over the slow rate of Canadianization among certain immigrant groups. During the First World War, for instance, patriotic fervour had brought about the abolition of the unique system of bilingual schools in western Canada and a temporary redefinition of the citizenship rights of European newcomers on the basis of wartime service. These nativist and xenophobic attitudes surfaced again during the 1930s, when thousands of German and Austrian Jews fled the Nazi terror and sought sanctuary in the northern Dominion, along with those fleeing persecution in Stalin's Russia and Franco's Spain. Yet despite anguished representation from a wide variety of Canadian humanitarian organizations, the immigration gates remained firmly closed to these tragic refugees.

Following the war, Canada's refugee policy changed dramatically. In keeping with their new commitments to the United Nations and to human rights, between 1946 and 1952 Canadians welcomed over 160,000 European refugees and displaced persons – a substantially higher ratio of acceptance than the United States. A growing economy and the heady optimism that Canada was an evolving major world

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C 85086

Children awaiting the arrival of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth during the 1939 royal tour. Except in French Canada, ethnic and cultural groups in the first half of the twentieth century were ideally expected to assimilate the cultural norms and myths of the Anglo-Saxon majority, including loyalty to the monarchy.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 165211

power spurred an expansionist immigration policy in the 1950s and 1960s. Thousands of Dutch, German, Italian, Greek, and Portuguese immigrants came to this country with the expectation of a better life; the low level of reemigration suggests that most realized their goals. But now it was not the prairie West that attracted most immigrants prior to 1939; instead, over half of the newcomers gravitated towards the major centres of central Canada. By 1970 Toronto had replaced Winnipeg as the most culturally diverse city in the country.

Most Canadians welcomed the increasingly diverse Canadian society, and most immigrants fared well in their adopted country. A variety of ethnic organizations, churches, newspapers, and voluntary associations helped in this social transition, but perhaps the most important catalyst to integration has been that essential bridge between Anglo-Canadian and immigrant communities, the Canadian educational system. In recent years, however, some ethnic groups have pushed for heritage-language instruction or even their own schools as a means of preserving their distinct identity within the Canadian cultural mosaic.

Since the Quiet Revolution, Quebec governments have encouraged newcomers to integrate into French Canadian society through education and language policies, culminating in the sweeping linguistic measures passed by the Parti Québécois govern-

Ellen Fairclough, minister of citizenship and immigration from 1958 to 1962, with new Canadian citizens. In the postwar years, Canadian immigration underwent dramatic change, moving away from selection by ethnicity and race toward selection on the basis of education and occupational training. In 1971, for the first time in Canadian history, the majority of immigrants to Canada were of non-European ancestry, which has been the case every year since.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 117383

After World War II, Europe was filled with "displaced persons"– refugees in essence. Because of a booming economy and a need for manpower, Canada became more receptive to admitting refugees. Between 1946 and 1952, Canadians welcomed over 160,000 European DPs. In this picture, refugees receive documentation in Bremen, Germany, prior to leaving for Canada in 1950.

1911

Apr 29 Edmonton farmers and the Board of Trade protest the settlement of a group of African-Americans in Alberta. The government orders all African-Americans at the U.S. border be rejected for medical reasons.

1913

Nov 30 Ottawa's orders-in-council, which exclude East Indians from Canada, are temporarily ruled illegal, on the basis East Indians are British citizens.

More than 400,000 people immigrate to Canada, the greatest number to arrive in one year.

1914

Over 350 East Indians aboard the immigrant ship *Komagata Maru*, hoping to settle in British Columbia, are denied legal status by the B.C. courts and then escorted out of Vancouver's harbour by a Canadian warship.

1917

The Wartime Elections Act disenfranchises Canadians of alien enemy and pacifist origins, including Germans, Ukrainians, Mennonites, and Doukhobors.

1918

Hutterites from North Dakota flee to Canada's prairie provinces to escape imprisonment for their resistance to war service.

1919

The Winnipeg General Strike polarizes a city and a nation. Because of the Red Scare, new immigration laws provide for the exclusion and deportation of suspected communists.

1921

Jun 1 The census records the population of Canada at 8.8 million, an increase of 64% since 1900.

1922

Mennonites fleeing religious persecution begin to arrive from the Soviet Union, most settling in Ontario and the prairie provinces.

1923

Jul 1 The Chinese Immigration Act, passed Jan 31, goes into effect, banning, with some exceptions, the entry of most Chinese to Canada. Some Chinese-Canadians still refer to Canada Day as "humiliation day."

The order-in-council restricting the immigration of Germans and their wartime allies to Canada is abolished.

1925

Sep 5 The Dominion government and the two transcontinental railway companies sign an agreement giving the CPR and CNR the power to recruit over 85,000 European immigrants for agricultural and industrial jobs.

1928

Pier 21, a large immigrant processing centre, opens in Halifax.

1931

Mar 31 Order-in-council PC 695 prohibits immigrants of all classes and occupations as a result of complaints from municipalities in the western provinces that immigration is the root of the unemployment crisis.

ment during the late 1970s. In addition, Quebec has, unlike the other provinces, refused to accept Ottawa's primacy in immigration matters, establishing its own service to recruit as many French-speaking immigrants as possible and to ensure that immigrants who settle in Quebec form part of the francophone community.

During the mid-1960s, Canada followed the lead of the United States in gradually eliminating racially discriminatory sections from the Immigration Act and its regulations. Immigrants were selected on the basis of occupational training, with professional and skilled immigrants theoretically being granted entry regardless of their ethnic background. Canadians applauded the federal government's commitment to the democratic ideals and cultural pluralism reflected in the Immigration Act of 1976. At long last, nineteenth-century racist assumptions were removed from this statute, as were most of the puerile medical and moral reasons for excluding and deporting. As well, the acceptance of refugees became an integral part of the annual admission policy, representing about 10 percent of the total influx. Security screening also seemed less onerous under the new act, although it still remains an integral part of Canadian immigration policy. But at least there was now an elaborate appeal system that, on paper at least, offered protection for those immigrants and refugees deemed "dangerous."

By the 1960s, the acceptance of refugees became an integral part of the annual admission policy, representing about 10 percent of the total influx.

These changes reflected a changing consensus in Canadian society toward multiculturalism and the importance of confronting racism. The 1971 Multicultural Act, with its emphasis on the "equality of status of all cultural and ethnic groups within the framework of our officially bilingual country," provided the statutory justification and administrative machinery. Even more important, the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, which gave all Canadians constitutional protection of basic civil liberties, also included decisions that have affected Canada's immigration procedures. The most important of these was that refugee claimants were covered by the Charter of Rights and must be allowed a full and fair hearing.

Another set of challenges facing the Trudeau, Mulroney, and Chrétien governments was how to deal with cycles of unemployment while maintaining a reasonable level of immigration. As a result, the number of arrivals fluctuated between a low of 84,000 in 1984 to more than 220,000 by the late 1990s. Even more daunting was how Canada, and the other industrialized nations, could deal with the 22 million refugees and asylum seekers desperately seeking new homes.

As the nation approaches the end of the twentieth century the old debate, over immigration policy and the ethnic character of Canadian society continues. Should Canada expand its annual intake beyond the 250,000 quota for 1999? How many should come from developing countries? To what extent do Canadians wish to extend the pluralistic character of their society? Are racism and ethnic intolerance spent forces in this country or recurring phenomena which surface in periods of large-scale immigration and economic hardship? Given the complexity of these questions, it is little wonder that politically ambitious ministers of immigration often seek a quick exit from that portfolio!

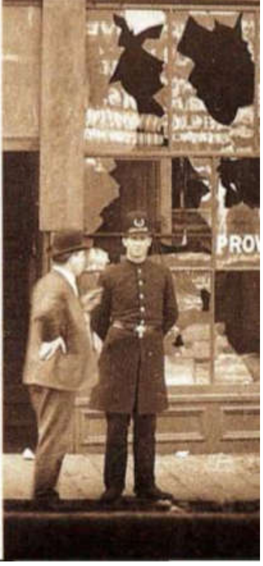
MARITIME CENTRAL AIR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 125700

Prior to 1960 the Canadian consensus was that Asians and blacks were not assimilable. Their future in the country, to the extent that they were thought to have one at all, was that of the most grinding labour. By contrast, British, white Americans, and many western European immigrants were granted high occupational and social status in the country, while eastern and southern European immigrants were given a middle position within Canada's vertical mosaic. As whites, they were at least granted basic civil rights, being at once candidates for Canadianization, even though as "nonpreferred" immigrants theirs was a decidedly mixed reception.

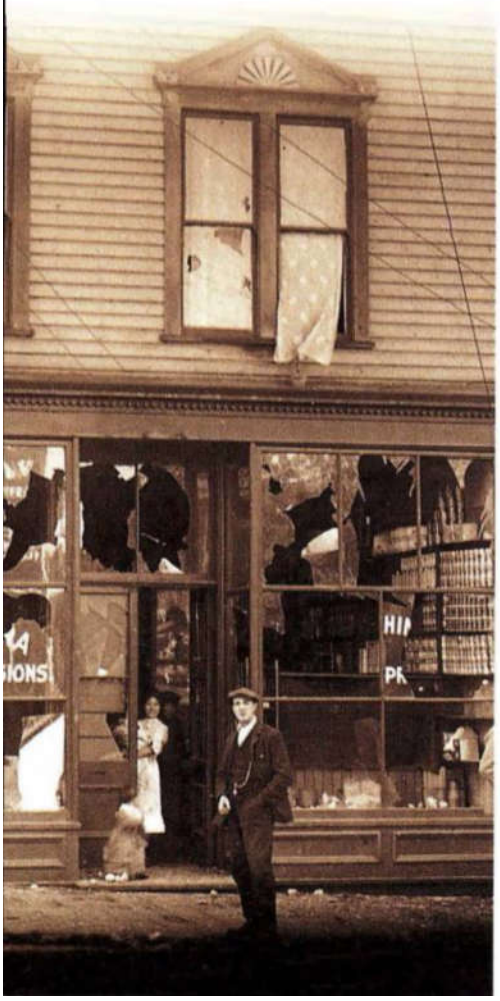
The first Asian immigrants to arrive in Canada were the Chinese, many of whom came north from California during the British Columbia gold rush of the 1850s. The Japanese began arriving in the 1880s, but their numbers did not become a political issue until the next decade, while immigrants from the Indian subcontinent did not

Below: Racism in Canada has at times gone beyond restrictive immigration policies and practices. This shop, operated by a Japanese Canadian grocer, was attacked during anti-Asian riots in Vancouver in 1905.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C 14118

Above: In 1956, in the wake of the Hungarian uprising against the Soviets, the Canadian government accepted 37,000 Hungarian refugees. The xenophobia of the prewar period gave way after the war to greater public acceptance for admitting refugees, fuelled in part by a booming economy and a desperate need for manpower.



assume sizable numbers until after 1905. All three groups were greatly affected by the Laurier government's decision that Asian immigration should not be encouraged: no agents were commissioned, no promotional literature was distributed, and no plans were made for the agricultural settlement of these peoples. Nevertheless, much of the impetus for Asian immigration to Canada came from syndicates in the immigrants' home countries who became allies of Canadian industries who wanted cheap, malleable labour. Soon the machinations of importers of Asian labour met with strong local labour resistance, though opposition to Asian immigration was racial and cultural as well as economic.

The impact of this conflict over Asian immigration was complex and bitter. For white British Columbians, the continued presence of Asians within the province was unacceptable. Some advocated mass expulsion, most were satisfied with an elaborate system of institutional discrimination to maintain rigid social segregation and political marginalization. This required many different tactics. One was to perpetuate the negative stereotypes of Asian immigrants as genetically and culturally inferior. Another was to portray them as "sojourners" with no stake in the life of the province. If this was not the case, the nativist asked, why then did the Chinese and Japanese remain in their ethnic ghettos?

What most white British Columbians did not see was the rich and varied social environment that existed within these ethnic enclaves. Vancouver's Chinatown, for example, contained a wide variety of cultural institutions that served the diverse spiritual and material needs of its constituents. Here a small merchant class, along with thousands of labourers separated from their families by the prohibitive head tax, developed a rich community life, despite constant harassment from civic officials. This came in the form of special business licences, arbitrary health inspections, and de facto school segregation. There were also provincial statutes that excluded Asians from acquiring Crown lands, from being hired on

1938

Canada increases the amount of capital required by Jewish immigrants to $20,000 from $5,000, hindering their entry into the country. Immigration officials also discourage efforts to admit any of the 200,000 Spanish republican exiles located in French refugee camps.

1939

Jun 7 The liner *St. Louis*, carrying 907 German-Jewish refugees, is turned back from American and Canadian shores. Most of its passengers gain temporary sanctuary in Western Europe until the Nazi takeover of 1940, when they become victims of the Holocaust.

1940

The Canadian government sponsors a program to place over 1,500 British evacuee children in Canadian foster homes during World War II.

July Hundreds of German and Italian immigrants, suspected of fascist sympathies, are interned as enemy aliens.

1942

Feb 26 Japanese-Canadians are removed from the West Coast to work camps or detention camps due to fear they might assist in a Japanese invasion. Most of the 21,000 interned are Canadian-born.

Canada joins the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which aids displaced people after the war.

1945

Dec 15 The Liberal government passes three orders-in-council enabling Canada to deport Japanese-Canadians, which are subsequently revoked Jun 24, 1947.

1946

Approximately 50,000 war brides and their 22,000 children arrive in Canada from Europe. An estimated one-fifth of bachelor Canadian soldiers and airmen marry overseas during WWII.

With the end of WWII, European refugees and displaced persons begin to arrive in Canada, numbering 160,000 by 1952.

1947

Jan 1 Canada becomes the first country in the Commonwealth to gain its own citizenship act as the Canadian Citizenship Act, the first nationality statute in Canada to define its people as Canadians, comes into effect.

May The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 is repealed, enabling wives and children of Chinese men already living in Canada to immigrate and Chinese residents of Canada to apply for naturalization as well as the right to vote.

1949

The government reinstates all rights to Japanese-Canadians that were removed during WWII.

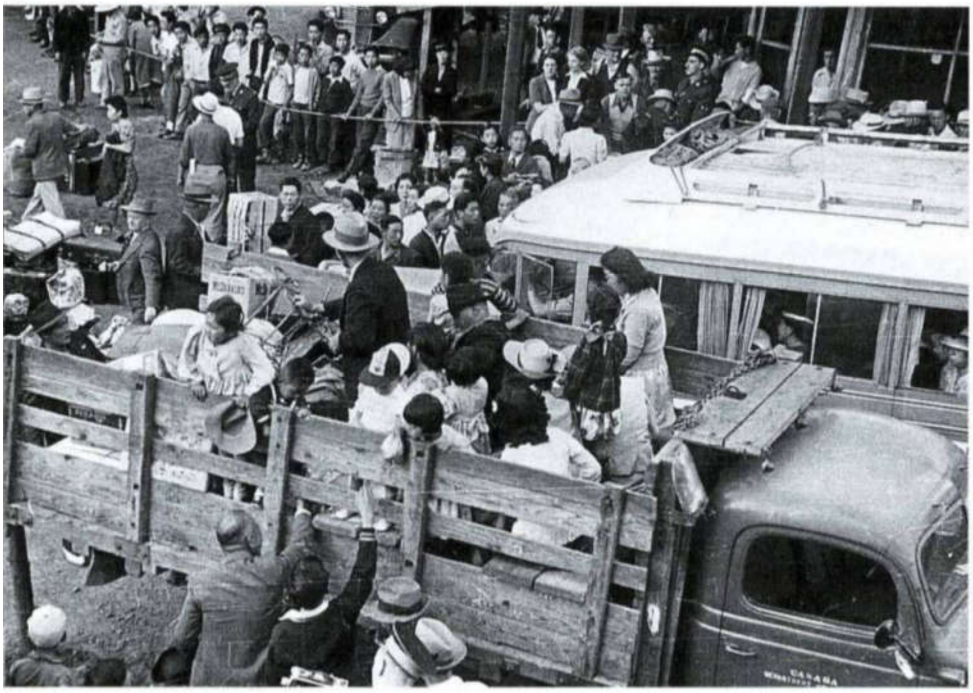
1952

The revised Immigration Act continues Canada's Eurocentric selection priorities and the arbitrary discretion powers of immigration officials to exclude "undesirables."

public works, from admission to provincially established homes for the aged and infirm, from holding liquor licences, from the professions of law and pharmacy, and above, all, from the provincial franchise.

Because they were unable to compete for well-paying jobs, many Chinese workers moved into ethnic enterprise – hand laundries, restaurants, groceries. This, in turn, encouraged a movement towards urban communities in the prairie West, central Canada, and even Atlantic Canada. By the Second World War, Canada's Chinese population was widely dispersed; in contrast, over 95 percent of Japanese Canadians were located on the B.C. coast, a situation that contributed to the forced removal and internment of more than 22,000 of them in February 1942, when fear of an enemy invasion was paramount.

With the end of the war, most overt discrimination against Canadians of Asian background ended, although it was not until the late 1960s that large-scale immigration from this region was permitted. Public reaction to this influx has been generally positive, although there was a certain amount of white backlash during the late 1970s, particularly in major urban centres such as Toronto and Vancouver, where the Asian population dramatically increased.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-46350

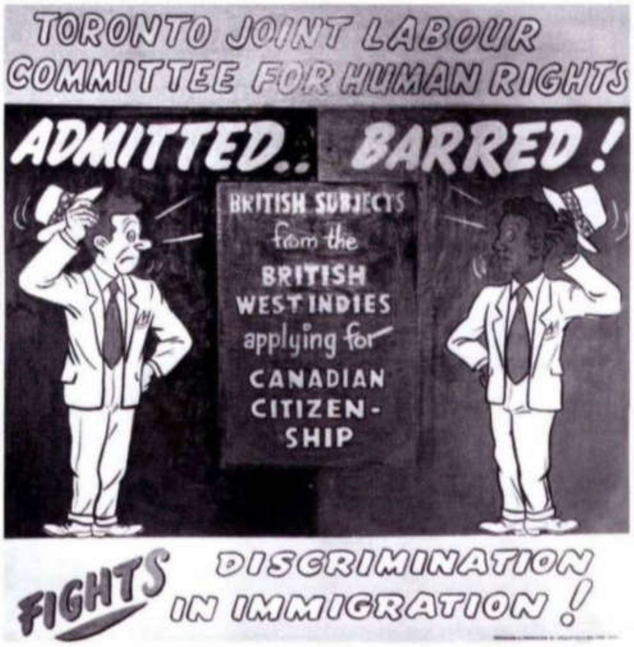
On February 24, 1942, in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, the Canadian government under the War Measures Act, claiming reasons of "national security," ordered the evacuation of some 22,000 Japanese Canadians from the Pacific coast area to the B.C. Interior and to other provinces and confiscated their property. In 1946, the government tried to deport to Japan 10,000 Japanese Canadians who chose not remain east of the Rockies, but public protest stopped the plan. On April 1, 1949 Japanese Canadians were reenfranchised.

This legacy of public prejudice, discriminatory laws, and harsh government policies remains an unresolved dilemma for Canadian society. While the Japanese-Canadian community belatedly received an official apology from the Mulroney government in 1988, along with compensation for the survivors of the 1942 forced relocation, other groups have not been as fortunate. This includes Chinese Canadians victimized by the racist head tax, and Canadians of Ukrainian, German, and Italian background who were unjustly treated during the First and Second World Wars. Despite intense lobbying efforts by these groups, successive federal governments have claimed that they cannot "rewrite history."

The situation of immigrants from the West Indies has also improved after the liberal laws and regulations of the 1960s. As a result, the Caribbean-born population increased from about 12,000 in 1961 to 400,000 by 1991. The largest number arrived from Jamaica, Trinidad, Haiti, Guyana, with most gravitating towards the cities of central Canada. Although Caribbean immigrants were often divided by ethnicity and culture, they also shared a number of social characteristics; for example, over 80 percent spoke English, with only the Haitians being predominantly francophone. Like immigrant groups before them, these Caribbean newcomers have developed a variety of neighbourhood shops and social organizations, while at the same time gradually increasing their involvement in the mainstream.

Most of the initial wave of Caribbean immigrants, contrary to popular stereotype, had a relatively high level of education. Job opportunities in Canada did not, however, correlate with their education or skills. As a result, there was a relative concentration of male and female Caribbean immigrants in processing and fabricating industries, and in service and health-care sectors. In addition, they were often subjected to "polite" Canadian prejudice and racism, a phenomena that Austin Clarke, a Barbadian-born writer, has described in his celebrated novels about the West Indian immigrant experience in Toronto and Montreal.

The problem of racism in Toronto was the focus of a 1976 Metropolitan Toronto task force headed by former NDP leader Walter Pitman. The catalyst for this inquiry was a rash of racially motivated attacks during the winter months of 1976–77, which convinced many observers that Toronto "was a time-bomb of potential conflict that could explode in the not-too-distant future." The report suggested several explanations for this phenomenon. One was to view the assaults "as part of a 'rite of entry'– that every immigrant minority must undergo initial abuse and discrimination which will dissipate for that group as time goes on." Closely related was the argument that certain ethnic groups, Asians and blacks, because of their cultural traits and racial characteristics, became more likely targets. Although the task force acknowledged that Toronto's society had been dramatically altered since 1951, when the foreign-born were only 19 percent, to 1971, when they represented 37 percent of the population, it was adamant that pervasive racism was unacceptable. It also suggested that racist incidents were most likely to occur in the workplace, in public housing, and in the schools unless multicultural programs were implemented. The report concluded with an impassioned appeal: "We live in a great city. But we also live in a 'global village.' It is a world in which more, not less, intermixing of race, skin colour, culture and religious traditions will take place. ... The world of tomorrow will be pluralistic and Metro's citizens will have to develop 'an affection for diversity.' ... Now Is Not Too Late."



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / KALMAN KAPLONSKY / PA 139579

After the Second World War, many Canadians began to demand human rights reform in immigration policy. This 1955 poster questions a colour code applied to immigrants from within the British Commonwealth.

While the Pitman report was well received, not all Canadians had adopted its message of tolerance. In 1984, the parliamentary Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society published its report, *Equality Now*, which labelled Canada "a flawed society." One reason for this indictment was evidence that "as many as 15 percent of the population exhibit blatantly racist attitudes, while another 20 to 25 percent have some racist tendencies." Visible minorities, "frequently believed to be from a different culture and ... [who] will not 'fit' the structures of public and private institutions in Canada," were the most likely to be victimized. Employment discrimination was a major problem, not only in the private sector, but with "police departments, fire departments, government services, (and) universities." So was failure to hire qualified visible minorities, "because the absence of any positive role models affects the image which visible minorities have of themselves."

Equality Now, an important document in itself, also acted as a catalyst for other studies – on patterns of employment bias and problems of police relations with visible minority communities in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Winnipeg. Other studies documented the exploitation of women immigrants, particularly those entering the country as household workers under the federal government's domestic authorization scheme.

Throughout the last decade there has been renewed controversy over Canada's immigration and refugee policies. In part, this has focused on whether sustained large-scale immigration has a sound economic and demographic rationale, or whether it can only be justified on humanitarian grounds. There was a

1957

Nov Immigration Minister Jack Pickersgill announces that Canada will provide free passage to refugees from the failed Hungarian uprising against Soviet control. Many of the 37,000 exiles are airlifted to Canada.

1961

The census calculates Canada's population at 18.2 million.

1962

Jan 19 The government introduces new immigration regulations "to eliminate all discriminations based on colour, race, or creed," and to counteract the "brain drain" – the large exodus of professional and skilled Canadian workers to the U.S. in the 1950s and early 1960s.

1967

Nov An independent Immigration Appeal Board is created to give those ordered deported the right to appeal the decision.

The Pearson government reforms Canada's immigration policy, introducing the "points system" of immigration selection, which evaluates prospective immigrants by education and skills, not ethnicity.

1968

Quebec creates its own Department for Immigration (now called the Department of Cultural Communities and Immigration),with its main goal to recruit more French and French-speaking immigrants

Canada welcomes 11,000 refugees from the communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

1971

Mar The Immigration Service at Halifax's Pier 21 is officially closed, marking the end of an era in Canadian immigration. The days of crossing the Atlantic by boat are over.

The government announces its new official policy of multiculturalism recognizing ethnic diversity.

1972

More than 4,000 Ugandan Asians, expelled by Idi Amin's regime, arrive in Canada as refugees, with another 1,278 the following year.

1977

Feb The Citizenship Act goes into effect, ensuring that all Canadian citizens, both native-born and naturalized, are entitled to the same rights and duties.

1980

Over the year, Canada accepts 60,000 Indochinese refugees fleeing Vietnam.

1985

The Supreme Court, in the case Singh v. Canada, declares that all refugee claimants have the right under the Charter to present their case personally to the Immigration Appeal Board.

1986

Aug Reflecting an explosion of illegal migrants to Canada in the mid-1980s, 150 Tamil immigrants arrive off Newfoundland's coast in two lifeboats, followed in 1987 by 174 Indian Sikhs off the coast of Nova Scotia. Both groups claim refugee status.

Which direction will Canada follow in the next millennium? Will there be support for ideas that immigration creates more problems than it solves; and that the country should close its gates, revoke its multicultural policies, and reject affirmative action programs for aboriginal peoples?

sharp division of opinion between those who believed that Canada's refugee policy was a litmus test for a just society, and those primarily interested in controlling the influx. In their war of words, the two sides made ample use of competing metaphors: closed vs. open doors; gatekeepers vs. immigration managers; unwanted victims vs. refugee frauds.

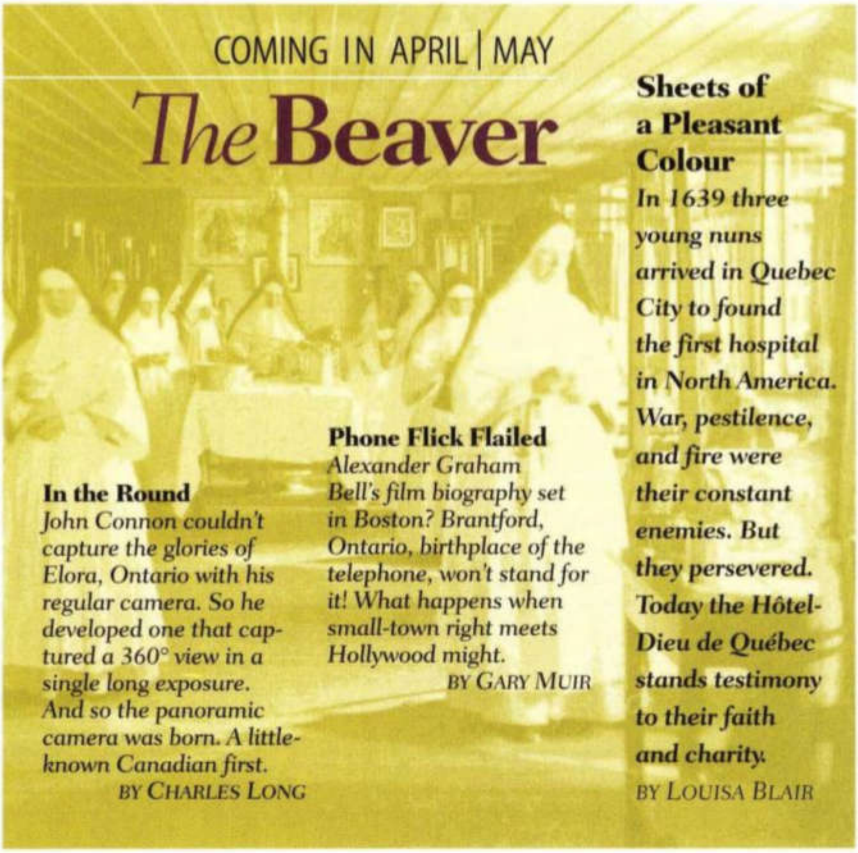
For Canadian immigration officials, one thing was clear: the number who could reach Canada was "many times greater than the number of refugees we can finance." Rigorous off-shore selection, they argued, was imperative not only to prevent a flood of refugee claimants, but also to ferret out the frauds, especially those being dumped on Canada's shores by sinister smuggling syndicates, a problem that caused intense public debate during the summer of 1999. But for most humanitarian groups, proposals for the summary deportation of all "bogus" refugee claimants seemed unjust – part of a bureaucratic conspiracy to stem the flow of refugees from developing countries despite ample evidence that these people had "well founded fears of being persecuted."

Canada's refugee policies do not exist in a vacuum. Indeed, Canadian immigration officials seeking to strengthen enforcement often cite American attempts to curtail Hispanic illegal workers and German efforts to exclude asylum seekers. At the same time, Canada could not remain indifferent to the growing number of displaced persons, most of whom had left conditions of generalized violence and forced displacement. During the 1990s, Canada accepted limited numbers of refugees fleeing civil war and ethnic conflict in Somalia, Ethiopia, and the former Yugoslavia.

Significantly, the debate over refugee and immigration issues has not extended to the electoral arena. This could be explained partly by the fact that none of the country's political parties wanted to alienate the powerful "ethnic vote," especially in metropolitan centres. Another is that the policies of the Conservative and Liberal parties on immigration have remained remarkably consistent since the Second World War. As well, no party wants to encourage neo-Nazi racist organizations and other purveyors of hate.

That is not to say, however, that Canadians are not concerned about the long-term implications of the country's immigration and multicultural policies. This was evident during the early 1990s when there was a spate of publications that questioned federal cultural policies. *Mosaic Madness* (1990), by sociologist Reginald Bibby, was one of the more popular. A scholarly work, based on extensive surveys, the book attacked both the concept of pluralism and its negative implications: "Canada may find itself a world leader in promoting the breakdown of group life." A similar message was forthcoming from Neil Bissoondath, a Trinidadian-born writer whose book, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (1994) argued that multiculturalism was a divisive social program, and called for "a new vision of Canadianness … where no one is alienated with hyphenation." At a time when concern over national unity and social stability runs deep, many Canadians have been attracted by Bissoondath's message that immigrants like himself are more concerned with individual integration and acceptance than with being placed within the "growing cult of racial and ethnic identity."

In Quebec, ethnic and cultural issues have been at the forefront of recent political developments. This was evident during the 1995 referendum on sovereignty, when prominent members of the Parti Québécois blamed their defeat on the ethnic vote, concentrated in metropolitan Montreal, which had been overwhelming federalist. More recently, the Bouchard government has emphasized that Quebec has a civic



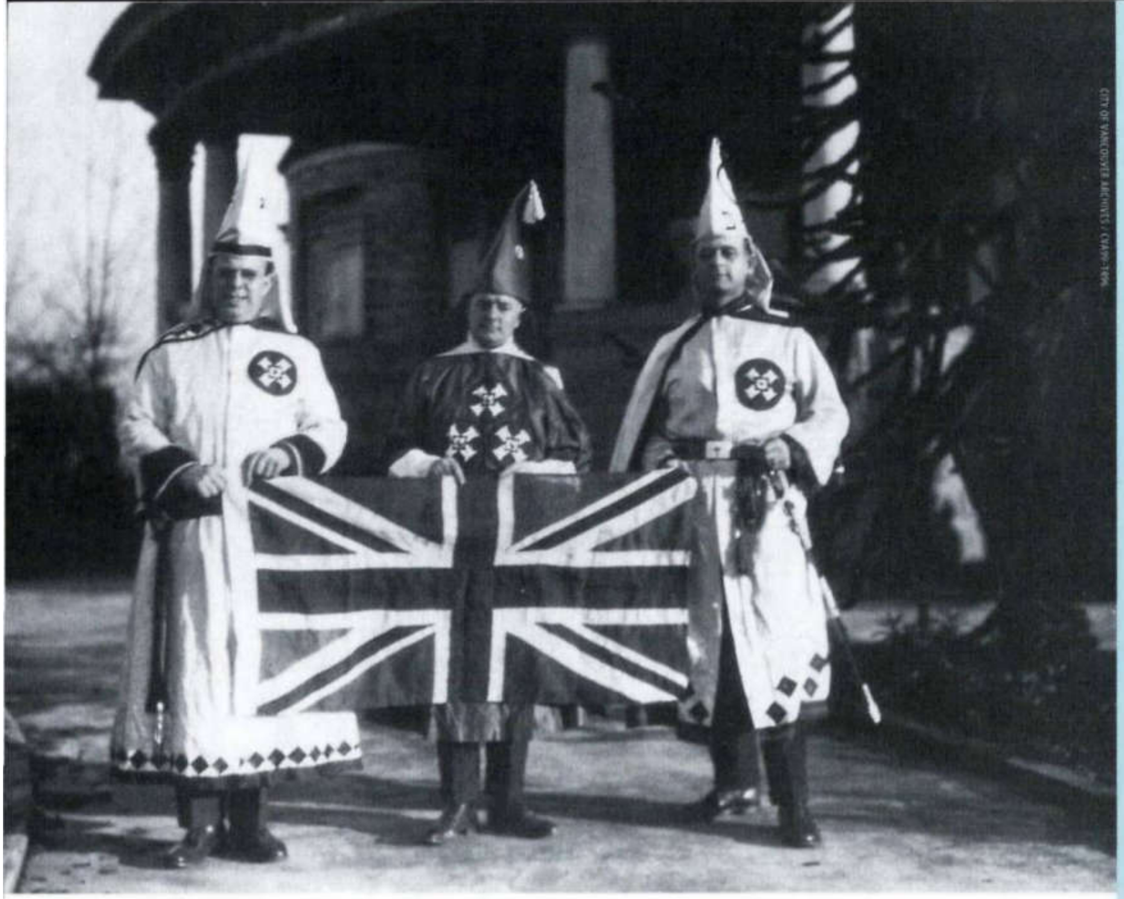
COMING IN APRIL | MAY

The **Beaver**

In the Round
John Connon couldn't capture the glories of Elora, Ontario with his regular camera. So he developed one that captured a 360° view in a single long exposure. And so the panoramic camera was born. A little-known Canadian first.
BY CHARLES LONG

Phone Flick Flailed
Alexander Graham Bell's film biography set in Boston? Brantford, Ontario, birthplace of the telephone, won't stand for it! What happens when small-town right meets Hollywood might.
BY GARY MUIR

Sheets of a Pleasant Colour
In 1639 three young nuns arrived in Quebec City to found the first hospital in North America. War, pestilence, and fire were their constant enemies. But they persevered. Today the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec stands testimony to their faith and charity.
BY LOUISA BLAIR



CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES / CVA99-1406

Imperial Kouncil of the Kanadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in front of their Imperial Palace, Vancouver, B.C. Founded in the wake of the American Civil War, the KKK, an ultraconservative, covert organization dedicated to the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture, became established in Canada in the 1920s, partly in response to the expansion of non-British immigration. Though obscure and unappealing to most Canadians, Klan members represented the extreme of Canadian immigration policy and public opinion early in the twentieth century, which was overtly racist. There was a descending preference for the ideal immigrant. British and American were followed by French, Belgians, Dutch, Scandinavians, Swiss, Finns, Russians, Austro-Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians, and Poles. Close to the bottom of the list came those such as Italians, Greeks, and Syrians, who were considered less assimilable. At the very bottom came Jews, Asians, gypsies and blacks.

nationalism that accommodates all citizens, regardless of background.

Which direction will Canada follow in the next millennium? Will there be support for ideas that are being debated in Australian nationalist circles that immigration creates more problems than it solves; and that the country should close its gates, revoke its multicultural policies, and reject affirmative action programs for aboriginal peoples? Similar outbursts of nativism have occurred in the United States during the late 1990s, notably the harsh measures adopted against illegal immigrants, and the English-only movement that is gathering support in California and other states with large Hispanic populations.

There is little evidence that Canadians are demanding restrictive immigration policies or the repeal of multicultural legislation. To the contrary, Canada's contemporary record in dealing with refugees and immigrants compares favourably with any other major settlement nation. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for instance has praised our refugee determination system, our special programs for victims of gender-related persecution, and the warm reception given the 6,000 Kosovo asylum seekers who arrived in the spring of 1999. That does not mean that Canadians should be smug or complacent or forget that racism remains an undercurrent in many aspects of our national experience. Indeed, we still have a long way to go before we realize the model society described in an 1862 colonization pamphlet: "Canada is about the only country in which the immigrant, practically as well as before the law, is seen as immediately equal to the native born." 亘

Canada is honoured with a United Nations award for sheltering world refugees.

1988

Sep 21 The Canadian government agrees to compensate 21,800 Japanese Canadians forcibly removed during WWII, paying $21,000 to each survivor who had property expropriated or who was interned. A $12-million community fund is also established.

1990

The federal government introduces its new five-year planning cycle, with annual quotas of 220,000 to 250,000 immigrants (about 1% of the population).

1992

Jul The government introduces Bill C-86, which calls for wider use of work visas, encouragement of professional and business immigrants, more control over the numbers of immigrants admitted annually, and the right to place certain immigrants in locations where their skills are required.

The number of entrepreneurs in Canada rises to 15,697 from 1,014 in 1984, a direct result of the Mulroney government's determined effort to attract investor immigration.

1993

Mar 9 Bill C-86 is altered to protect the rights of female refugees who have been persecuted by sexual assault.

1994

Dec The federal government announces no redress for Canadians of Ukrainian, Chinese, German, and Italian descent who had been mistreated by Canada's past immigration and citizenship policies.

1995

Feb 27 The Liberal government announces in its budget a $975 head tax on all adult immigrants applying for permanent resident status.

1996

May 14 The census records Canada's population as 28.8 million, up 1.5 million since 1991. To an almost equal extent, the growth is a result of international migration and natural increase.

1997

Aug Over 1,000 Roma begin to arrive in Canada after a TV program airs in the Czech Republic portraying the country as a safe haven for refugees, with no prior visa requirements for Czech nationals. Overwhelmed, Canada reimposes visa requirements on Czech citizens in October.

1999

Apr 27 The first of over 1,000 ethnic Albanian refugees arrive in Canada as part of a major airlift to remove ethnic Albanians from the war-torn Balkans.

Jul 20 A large human smuggling operation is uncovered when Canadian officials stop a boat carrying 123 Chinese illegal immigrants in the Pacific near Vancouver Island. On Aug 11, another 130 Chinese migrants land on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

OLIVE P. DICKASON

Native

Making Claim

Within the first few decades of the twentieth century, the federal government had consolidated its title to much of the Canadian landmass through treaties that extinguished native land rights. The government was eager to open Canada, particularly the West, to new settlement, and it moved effectively wherever valuable land or political considerations came to the fore. But Canada's first peoples have always held different views of rights and ownership. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, they began to press for change.

While the millions who came to Canada from other shores throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries carved out new lives for themselves in a wide open land, for the original inhabitants of that land the process was reversed as they were exiled to the margins of the new society. For them, the challenge has been to regain their lost self-determination.

Canada's First Nations have signed about five hundred treaties with the Crown since the days of first European settlement. In the beginning, these agreements were for peace and friendship; only later did they focus on land transfers. The turning point was the Royal Proclamation issued by King George III in 1763, following Pontiac's uprising. In surrendering almost half of Canada's land to an authority – the Crown – that presumed it held underlying sovereign title to all of British North America, Canada's native people surrendered the keystone to determining their own fate. It wasn't until 1973 that the presumption underlying the Crown's contract with the aboriginal inhabitants was challenged, and the reversals that Canada's natives have experienced for centuries began themselves to be reversed.

In 1973, Frank Calder, founder and president of British Columbia's Nisga'a Tribal Council (1955–1974), went to court to establish his people's right to their traditional lands, which they had neither ceded by treaty nor lost in a war. He lost, but on a technicality. Although the judges disagreed on whether the Royal Proclamation of 1763 applied to British Columbia, all but one agreed that aboriginal title existed in law independently of any treaty, executive order, or legislative enactment. Possession of lands when Europeans arrived was proof of aboriginal title. However, the judges did not arrive at a consensus as to how aboriginal title was to be interpreted and dealt with. Neither did they agree on the current state of Nisga'a land rights. But they did affirm that aboriginal rights existed, at least in principle. It was a giant step forward.

Land became an issue very quickly after Europeans arrived in the Americas, particularly in those regions where farming was established as a way of life. As the Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vitoria (1480?–1552), primary professor of sacred theology at the University of Salamanca and a father of international law observed, since the law of discovery applied only to unoccupied territories, it could not be used to support seizure of the lands of Amerindians "any more than if it had been they who had discovered us." He pointed out that at the time of their first voyages to the Americas, the Spaniards "took with them no right to occupy the lands of the indigenous population." His voice, far from being isolated, was simply among the better known of those who expounded the central canonical tradition of medieval legal thought, which had its roots in classical Greece and Rome.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA / N8150

Although "aboriginal right" as a term expressing a principle of law has come into use only comparatively recently, the principle itself is ancient. Aboriginal right – or "Indian title," as it was referred to in colonial times – can be traced back to Justinian's Code, promulgated during the first half of the sixth century. It explicitly recognized that the first inhabitants of a land are its rightful owners: "natural reason admits the title of the first occupant to that which previously had no owner." The code in its turn was based on Roman law, which considered the principle to be self-evident in natural law. It continued in Europe under feudalism and common law. In other words, aboriginal title entered into law in connection with land, and only later was the concept extended to become aboriginal right, which includes self-government. (In spite of its lengthy history and much deliberation, its full

Chief-elect Robert Fiddler of Deer's Lake East Band on treaty day, June 9, 1910 at Little Grand Rapids, Manitoba.

It was easy to view the hunting and gathering Amerindians . . . as living according to nature . . . with no more rights to land than deer or jaguars.

legal implications are still not clear.)

Amerindians, for their part, held that since land was for the use of all peoples, everyone had a right to its produce. Using the land entailed the responsibility of taking care of what had been received from previous generations in order to pass on its benefits to the generations to come. Primarily, Amerindians saw the natural world in spiritual terms: in the words of one contemporary observer, "they suppose that all animals, fowls, fish, trees, stones, &c., are endowed with immortal spirits, and that they possess supernatural power to punish any who may dare to despise or make any unnecessary waste of them." Concerning land, they had a clear concept of tribal territoriality, but not of individual ownership of discrete parcels of land. Those peoples who practised agriculture used land communally as organized by kinship, a custom that could come close to individual ownership, as among the Huron.

Legal principles were one thing and political reality something else again, as quickly became evident when Christopher Columbus stumbled on the Caribbean island of Guanahani in 1492, and lost no time in claiming it for Spain, even though it was obviously inhabited. Quickly realizing the weakness of her claim of "discovery," and not to be done out of the rewards of her find (the expedition had been expensive), Spain obtained papal support for her claims. This was done in 1493 with the bulls of Pope Alexander VI, authorizing Spain to bring under her sway "the said countries and islands, with their residents and inhabitants, and to bring them to the Catholic faith." Neither France nor England accepted the bulls, and some of Spain's leading jurists, including Vitoria, denied the pope's claim of the right to dispose of the temporal possessions of non-Christians.

1871

Canada and First Nations sign the first of 11 numbered treaties that secure much of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories as Crown property, and guarantee the Canadian government's responsibility for the well-being of the territories' aboriginal inhabitants. By 1899, the first eight treaties are signed.

1905

Treaty 9 is negotiated with the federal and Ontario governments who share the cost of purchasing aboriginal title to land in northern Ontario – the only time a provincial government participates in any of the numbered treaties.

1906

A delegation of Squamish chiefs travels to England to petition King Edward seeking compensation for lands in British Columbia that had been appropriated without payment.

Treaty 10 is established. Aboriginals cede land in northern Saskatchewan to the Crown in return for the government's guarantee of reserve lands, annual payments, education, and farming assistance.

1912

The Nisga'a of northwestern B.C.'s Nass River Valley are the first native group to initiate a land-claim action against the Canadian government.

1921

Following the discovery of oil in the Mackenzie Valley, the government obtains Dene signatures to establish Treaty 11. Claiming the treaty's provisions were improperly implemented and the document had no legal validity, the Dene begin in the 1970s to pursue land-claim settlements in the court.

1923

The government, noting an absence of documents formalizing native land cessions in parts of central and southern Ontario, quietly obtains native signatures to lay claim to some of Canada's most valuable real estate. This marks the last of a major round of treaty making begun in the 1870s.

1930

Under the Natural Resources Transfer Acts of 1930, Indians in the prairie provinces are granted the right to hunt and fish for food, free of provincial regulation, on unoccupied Crown lands.

1939

The government rules that Inuit are a federal responsibility, although they are not subject to the Indian Act.

1951

Jun The Indian Act is substantially revised to give native bands greater autonomy and end restrictions such as the prohibition of native ceremonies and dances.

1960

March 10 Indians are granted the right to vote in federal government elections without having to relinquish their Indian status.

Aug 4 The 1960 Canadian Bill of Rights is passed, affirming the right to equality before the law for all Canadians, including natives.

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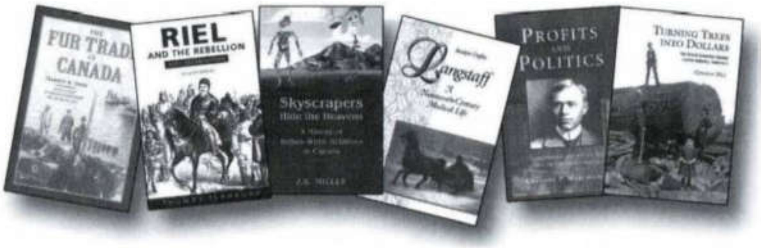

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As word of Columbus's achievement spread, so did the popular belief that it had been a "discovery" in the full sense of the word, giving Europeans the right to claim the land, particularly as it gave evidence of harbouring rich resources waiting to be exploited. It was easy to view the hunting and gathering Amerindians, who in Columbus's words went "naked as their mothers bore them,"as living according to nature "like beasts in the woods," with no more rights to land than deer or jaguars.

A question that was soon raised was the definition of "occupation" or "habitation." Could migratory peoples who "ranged" the land without fixed abodes be classed as inhabitants? Portugal, shortly before Columbus's voyage, had claimed rights of "discovery" along the African coast, on the grounds that without stable settlement the region was *terra nullius*, uninhabited land. Similarly, the legal expression *vacuum domicilium* (no habitations or homes), carried the connotation that the land was legally "waste" because it had not been "subdued"–that is, cultivated. In this sense, much of the Americas was seen as not truly occupied; even semisedentary farming villages were considered not to be true habitations, as they were not occupied year-round. Later the English developed a variant "doctrine of discovery," according to which the discovering power had the sole prerogative to extinguish (by purchase or other means) the occupancy rights of the original inhabitants.

By the eighteenth century, the argument that natural law demanded that people cultivate the land in order to claim it had been widely accepted in Europe. This idea had been advocated by Thomas More (1478–1535) in his *Utopia* (published in Latin in 1516 and English in 1551), and later modified by Swiss jurist Emerich de Vattel (1714–1767), whose elaborate and complex analysis of international law, *Le Droit des gens*, published in 1758, rivalled the works of Dutch jurist and statesman Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) as accepted legal authority. Vattel wrote that the obligation to cultivate the soil meant that peoples who followed the "idle" hunting life rather than undertaking the hard work of farming were taking up more land than was their due, and so could be restricted in their holdings to allow for the expansion of agriculture.

As their loss of land under British settler pressures steadily increased, so did the violence of Amerindians reactions. Recognizing this as a major factor in the wars that ensued, imperial authorities sought to control the situation with a series of proclamations, the most famous of which was that of 1763. Its two best-known provisions marked a turning point in British colonial attitudes toward Amerindian land rights: first of all, that all lands not already been ceded to or purchased by Britain and that formed part of British North America were to be considered "reserved lands" for Amerindians, and secondly, those lands could only be alienated by the British Crown. In other words, individuals were no longer allowed to purchase lands directly from Amerindians, which had led to so much fraudulence and unrest in the past. The British, recognizing that "the Cruelty and Injustice with which they [Indians] had been treated with respect to their hunting grounds" had spurred Pontiac's 1763 uprising, were apprehensive of a generalized Amerindian war. Their principal concern was to keep the peace necessary for their expanding commercial empire to flourish. Protecting land rights was a means to that end.

The Crown, in its move to respect "Indian title," was referring to occupancy and use, not outright ownership ("fee simple" in legal terms). It was assumed that Britain held underlying sovereign title, as the 1763 proclamation's wording indicates: it was "our dominions" that were being reserved for Amerindians and to which the Crown was extending its protection. Not all Indians across Canada have accepted the proclamation; the Innu of Labrador and northern Quebec still do not believe that their rights were affected either by the proclamation or by "the present occupation" by non-aboriginals.

The first postproclamation treaties were signed in Upper Canada. In 1764, there were two, permitting British use

1961

Dec 31 National Indian Council is established in Calgary as an umbrella group for native and Métis concerns.

1968

The National Indian Council splits to form the Canadian Métis Society (Native Council of Canada after 1970; Congress of Aboriginal Peoples after 1994) to represent the Métis and nonstatus Indians, and the National Indian Brotherhood (Assembly of First Nations after 1982) to represent status Indians.

1969

Jun A government White Paper calls for abolition of the Indian Department and the Indian Act within five years, thus eliminating Indian status. The White Paper is abandoned after NIB protest.

1970

Apr 1 The N.W.T. takes over responsibility for governing the eastern and upper Arctic from the Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Sep 1 The Blue Quills Residential School in Alberta becomes the first to be run by aboriginal people, marking the beginning of the end for church-run residential schools in Canada.

The Supreme Court of Canada rules that J. Drybones, a status Indian, had been unfairly discriminated against on the basis of race when he was convicted under a provision that made it an offence for an Indian to be intoxicated off reserve lands.

1971

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC, formerly the Inuit Brotherhood) is formed to address such issues as the development of the Canadian North and the preservation of the Inuit culture.

1973

Aug 8 The federal government renews the right of natives to initiate land claim negotiations.

Sep 7 The N.W.T government allows the Indian Brotherhood of the N.W.T. to file a claim for approximately one-third of the land.

Court decisions recognize Dene land title to the Mackenzie River Valley and the title of the Cree and Inuit of Quebec. Later overturned, both decisions are a significant step forward in the process of native land claims.

1975

Nov 11 The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the first aboriginal treaty negotiated since 1923, is signed in Quebec City. The treaty ensures area natives partial self-government, control over hunting, and a large cash settlement.

1976

Jun 8 On the recommendation of the Berger inquiry, the government postpones construction of the Mackenzie pipeline for 10 years pending settlement of land claims with the Dene and Inuit.

1982

Apr 17 The Constitution Act is proclaimed. Section 35 affirms existing aboriginal and treaty rights, defining "the aboriginal peoples of Canada" as Indian, Inuit, and Métis.

BEAVER COLLECTION

BEAVER COLLECTION

Between 1871 and 1921, eleven numbered treaties were signed between Canada and First Nations, securing much of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories for the Crown, and including in its arrangements more than half of Canada's native population. In return for regions surrendered, the government usually offered, in addition to acreage, dollar amounts as presents and further annuities depending on family size. Treaty Six, signed with the Plains and Woods Crees in 1876 and depicted in the artwork at the top of this composite picture, covered much of central Saskatchewan and Alberta. Its provisions included a "medicine chest" clause, unique among the treaties signed, which became the basis for free health care for native people. Members of the File Hills Reserve in Saskatchewan gather on treaty day, 1912, (foreground) to receive treaty monies and goods.

of the portage at Niagara Falls in return for a trade agreement. Other treaties quickly followed, most of them characterized by land surrenders.

While this procedure slowed down Amerindian loss of land, it did not stop it, nor was it intended to. What it did was to ensure that land for settlement was acquired by negotiation rather than by war. Some Amerindian leaders, realizing the ultimate consequences of land loss for their people, began to speak out against the cessions. The best known of these was Tecumseh, who tried to organize a pan-Amerindian alliance to control land deals. He held that no single tribe had the right to cede land on its own, which he said should only be done by all the tribal nations of a region acting together in council. Tecumseh's attempts to rally Amerindians in their own interests had only limited success, and were cut short when he was killed during the War of 1812.

The first Canadian court case in which the land provisions of the Proclamation of 1763 figured was that of *St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Co. v. R* (1888). The point at issue was whether the lands surrendered in Treaty Three (1873) had accrued to the Crown in right of the federal authority (Canada) or to the Crown in right of the province (Ontario). The court, in ruling in favour of Ontario, held that Indian land rights were those of occupancy and use and were dependent upon the goodwill of the British sovereign. This would not be challenged until Nisga'a Tribal Council president Frank Calder went to court. Though the Nisga'a lost in 1973 in *Calder v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*, the judge's position that aboriginal rights existed, at least in principle, influenced the federal government to initiate its comprehensive land claims process for settling issues concerning unceded lands. Since the Calder case, it has acknowledged the Proclamation of 1763 as "a basic declaration of the Indian people's interest in land in this country," particularly since it was incorporated into the Canadian Constitution of 1982. For their part, Amerindians regard it as their "Bill of Rights," an acknowledgment of the federal government's fiduciary (trust) responsibility for aboriginal peoples as a consequence of the proclamation's reservation to the Crown of the right to acquire Indian lands. The first clear legal recognition of that fiduciary principle came in *R v. Guerin* (1984), when the Supreme Court of Canada recognized that when aboriginal people are involved, it is the duty of the Crown to always act in their best interest.

The trend toward recognizing aboriginal rights received a sharp check in 1991 when a B.C. court, in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, rejected the claim of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en to 58,000 square kilometres of traditional lands in northwestern British Columbia on the grounds that the oral evidence upon which the claim had been based was in effect hearsay, and consequently not sufficient to support the claim. Six years later, in 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada on appeal overturned the B.C. court's decision with the argument that oral tradition had not been given sufficient weight. In its opinion, the laws of evidence must be adapted to place oral history on an equal footing with other types of historical evidence. It recommended a new trial.

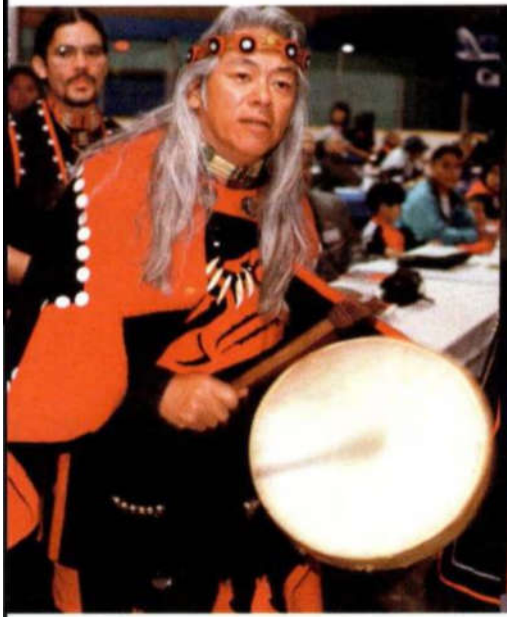
In the meantime, the Nisga'a were back in the news when they signed a treaty in 1999, the first for British Columbia since the mid-nineteenth century. The treaty, which gives the First Nation exclusive rights to the resources of an area less than one-tenth of their traditional lands in exchange for giving up their tax-free status under the Indian Act, has been hailed as a breakthrough marking "a new understanding between cultures." It certainly included com-

CP PICTURE ARCHIVE / NICK PROCAYLO

promises on both sides. On December 13, 1999 the House of Commons passed the Nisga'a Final Agreement Act, with Senate approval pending.

Another major breakthrough last year was the creation of a new territory, Nunavut, out of the Northwest Territories. Comprising more than a fifth of Canada's surface, Nunavut represents the largest native land-claim settlement in the country's history. It also represents the establishment of a new style of "public government" in which the Inuit, who are in the overwhelming majority, have in effect formed the government. But it is a government in which nonnatives are participating, as four of the new legislative assembly's nineteen members are not Inuit. In other words, the Inuit, in regaining control of their own destiny, have done so while recognizing and incorporating the rights of minorities. The political implications of this arrangement for the rest of Canada will probably take some time to work out.

As all this illustrates, the consequences of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 are more in evidence and more widespread in Canada than they have ever been. A recent count of land claims across the land put their number at 3,300. All of British Columbia is under claim. This whole development can be traced, either directly or indirectly, to the proclamation. Comprehensive claims are direct descendants via Calder: this is the type of claim that arises in regions without treaties, but where aboriginal right continues to exist. Specific claims arise in large part out of the land cession treaties, when there is disagreement as to the implementation of terms. What began as a move to protect imperial interests, particularly where expanding commercial interests were concerned, has been transformed into today's movement for the implementation of aboriginal rights. It is a development with the potential to profoundly affect the nature of Canada in the twenty-first century. ▣



Above, left: Harry Martin of Greenville, B.C., celebrates in Terrace April 27, 1999 the signing of an historic agreement five days earlier giving the Nisga'a of northwestern B.C. around two thousand square kilometres of territory in the lower Nass Valley, a financial settlement, and resource rights over their own land. The Nisga'a have been in the vanguard of the native land-claims movement in Canada. In 1973, the Supreme Court of Canada recognized that aboriginal title could exist in common law, but achieved no consensus on interpretation or execution. Nevertheless it was a watershed judgment that led the federal government to begin negotiating land claims.

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Above, right: Commissioner of Nunavut, Helen Mamayoak Maksagak, at the opening of the new territory's interim legislature in Iqaluit, April 1, 1999. Nunavut, comprising more than one-fifth of Canada's landmass, represents the largest land-claim settlement in Canadian history. About 85 percent of the territory's 27,000 people is Inuit.

1983

Aboriginal peoples are invited for the first time into constitutional negotiations at a series of first ministers conferences that continue until 1987.

The Constitutional Act of 1982 is amended to ensure equal rights to both aboriginal men and women.

1985

June 12 Bill C-31 is passed, restoring Indian status to native women married to nonnative men.

1986

Oct 9 Parliament passes the Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act transferring legal title to band lands to Sechelt First Nation in B.C., the first band to break from the Indian Act.

1987

Aboriginal groups successfully argue at a First Ministers Conference that aboriginal self-government is an "inherent right" not a right contingent on the sanctioning vote of provincial and federal parliaments.

1990

Jun 15 New Democrat MLA Elijah Harper, a Cree, refuses consent to the Meech Lake Accord in the Manitoba Legislature, arguing it fails to recognize the rights of aboriginal peoples. Meech dies June 22.

Jul 11 A gun battle erupts between 100 armed Quebec policemen and Mohawk members of the Warrior Society at Oka, Quebec, who are protesting plans to turn nearby land claimed for themselves into a golf course.

1991

Apr 23 The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) is created to study aboriginal issues and find solutions to improve relations between the government and First Nations.

The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, conducted in Manitoba, concludes that the provincial judicial system had become racist and abusive towards natives.

1998

Jan 7 The federal government apologizes to survivors of Indian residential schools and sets up a $350-million fund for community healing.

Aug 4 The Nisga'a Final Treaty Agreement, B.C.'s first treaty since 1899, is initialed, guaranteeing the Nisga'a of northwestern B.C. self-government, ownership of surface and subsurface resources on their lands, and a share of area salmons stocks and wildlife harvests. The treaty is ratified in the B.C. legislature April 22, 1999.

1999

Apr 1 Canada's newest territory and largest jurisdiction, Nunavut is created. Under the 1993 Nunavut Land Agreement, the Inuit people of the region are granted a form of self-government and a cash settlement of over $1 billion over 14 years.

Dec 13 The Nisga'a Final Treaty Agreement is passed by the House of Commons.

SUANNE KELMAN

Redefining Family

Has any other institution changed so dramatically? From the days when father knew best, mother looked after home and hearth, and children were seen, not heard, the family remains the primary unit of society. But external forces of war and economy and modern ideas about children and individual fulfillment have transformed the family beyond recognition. Ward and June Cleaver, rest in peace.

Operated by the Toronto Department of Health, this well baby clinic, 1913, instructed new mothers on caring for their infants.

How much can an institution as basic as the family alter in a single century? In Canada, to a remarkable degree. Families today are infinitely more fragile and varied than Canadians could have predicted a century ago. In 1900, the vast majority of adults routinely married, raised children, and remained together until death without ever considering divorce. Contraception and homosexuality were crimes; an unwed mother was a scandal. The father was still the legal head of the household, with enormous power over his wife and children.

Today, Canadians seem reluctant to enter into marriage and parenthood at all. The marriage rate is down; fertility has plummeted. Almost a quarter of adults in this country live alone. Almost 40 percent of marriages end in divorce. Single parents and common-law marriages no longer raise eyebrows. Men and women are equal under the law. Some agencies, public and private, extend benefits to unmarried partners; a few now acknowledge same-sex unions. We have different expectations of marriage, new ways of perceiving and raising our kids. Our targets for tolerance and intolerance have changed. The single mother is no longer a pariah today, but the contemporary press would certainly ask some fairly awkward questions about the bachelor status of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

How did we get from the old world to our new one? It might seem we travelled on ideas – new ways of looking at the world gathered from feminism, psychology, sociology, social work. But the ideas would never have changed our lives without constant nudging from real historical events and innovations. That is particularly true in this country, where the authorities stubbornly resisted any loosening of the old rules for decades. The shape of Canada's families today owes a great debt to the two world wars, to economic changes and conditions, and to the birth-control pill.

At least two ideas, however, have had permanent, concrete effects on life within the family. One, obviously, is feminism. The other derives from the theories that underpin

PARKIN PHOTO STUDIO / COLLECTION OF THE MANITOBA MUSEUM OF MAN AND NATURE / 17172

At the turn of the century, this couple, married in the eyes of God, would consider marriage a sacred bond. They would likely have courted in their homes, at church, and at community affairs under the watchful eyes of family and friends. Once married, the bride had no rights over property; children of the union would be the legal responsibility of the husband. Divorce was not only unthinkable, but largely untenable.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

psychological therapy. In 1900, Canadians were still apt to see a battling couple or a wayward child as wicked. Today, we see their families as dysfunctional. That's because the social sciences have generally replaced religion as the moral authority in our lives. In the West, we have developed an essentially therapeutic vision of the family's role. We see the purpose of marriage and parenthood as psychological nurturing and growth. We stress the need for open communication; we bring in experts for counselling when it fails.

To examine the journey of Canadian families in this century, we need to understand where we started. And the first thing to recognize is how far we had already travelled. In the year 1900, Canadians married partners they chose themselves – for love, at least in theory. The majority of Canadians lived in nuclear households, not extended families. Their birth rate was high in our terms, but it had declined

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

In the latter part of the nineteenth century there was an emerging awareness that poverty, brought about by increased industrialization and urbanization, was a contributing factor to delinquency. The establishment of philanthropic children's aid societies and enactment of child welfare laws in the 1890s and early 1900s protected children from abuse and neglect, and signalled changing attitudes.

1906

Montreal schools introduce regular, systematic medical inspection of pupils, reflecting an increased understanding of the growing child.

1908

J.G. Shearer forms the Moral and Social Reform Council to promote the Social Gospel movement – an attempt to apply Christianity to the collective ills of an industrializing society.

The Juvenile Delinquents Act is passed establishing the state as guardian for misguided children who require care and supervision.

1909

British doctor Ernest Jones's lecture in St. Catharines, Ontario on the theories of Sigmund Freud shocks Canadian doctors who view Freud's theories as a "relapse into savagery."

1910

Alberta passes the Married Woman's Relief Act, the first legislation in Canada empowering the court to grant a will if its maker fails to provide adequate maintenance for a spouse or other dependents.

Manitoba enacts the Mothers' Pension Act to provide a small insured income to widows and divorced or deserted wives with children to support.

1917

British Columbia passes legislation giving mothers equal rights with fathers in child guardianship or custody in the event of separation or divorce. Previously, the husband was unconditionally granted sole custody of the children.

1926

The Institute of Child Study is founded at the University of Toronto with psychologist and child advocate William Blatz as director.

precipitously since the middle of the nineteenth century. A substantial number of Canadians already held an ideal of the family that would seem familiar to us: one held together by mutual affection, rather than paternal authority.

Yet the changes are even more striking than the similarities. A hundred years ago, no matter how individual couples chose to function, public policy did not recognize the vision of marriage as an equal partnership. A mother had no legal rights over her children while her husband lived. From 1876 on, women themselves were deemed not to be persons under the law – unless the law chose to punish them for crimes, for which they were held responsible.

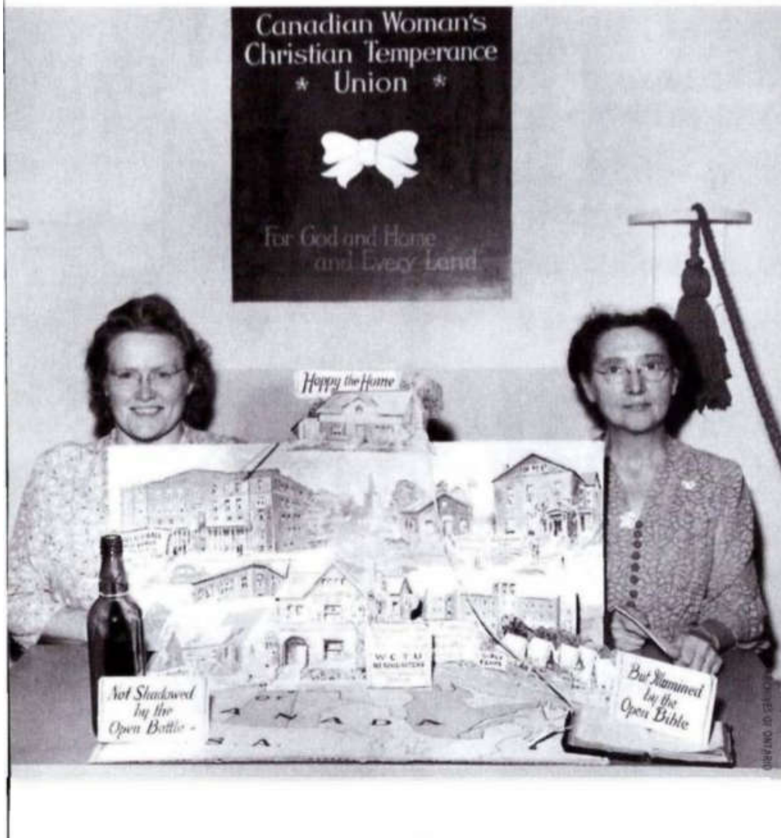
Children were particularly vulnerable. It's true that by 1900, there was a separate juvenile justice system, based on the belief that delinquent children were the victims of an unwholesome home environment. At the same time, child labour was still common, many children did not attend school, and they had virtually no rights. The young were dependent on the protection afforded by their fathers, and their fathers alone. Government agencies were not keen to intervene in private homes, even in cases of abuse and neglect.

However stable their lives look to us now, these Canadians of memory did not see their family patterns as secure and resilient. In the year 1900, life in most parts of Canada was changing at what must have seemed a breakneck pace. In all but the most remote and impoverished areas, the pioneer days of the tightly self-sufficient family were fading into a memory. By 1910, almost half of Canadians no longer lived on farms; Canada was becoming an industrial and a consumer society.

The first major change in the Canadian family began as a political issue – the fight for women's right to vote. Canada's first suffragettes were generally more ladylike and conciliatory than their British counterparts. There were no women chained to buildings here, no hunger strikes, no forced feeding in prisons. Many campaigners had joined up in pursuit of another goal. In Canada, the fight for women's votes was tied to the temperance movement.

The two movements developed together because most Canadians assumed that only men drank, and many knew that alcohol could be a source of domestic misery. Nellie McClung, Canada's most famous early feminist, wrote, "The liquor traffic has waged war on women and children all down the centuries." Prohibitionists reasoned that

Members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union at a table display in Toronto, c. 1940. At the turn of the century, the WCTU was a powerful national group, one of many women's organizations concerned with moral reform – which members knew would not result until women obtained the vote. The WCTU's power as a political force waned following the success of suffrage and failure of prohibition, but the group, founded in 1874, continues to spread its message.



ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO

During the First World War, more than thirty thousand women went to work in munitions factories; thousands more alleviated the labour shortages in other industries. By war's end, women retreated to their homes to make way for returning soldiers, a pattern that would be repeated following the Second World War. In 1951, the proportion of working-age women who worked outside the home was 11 percent; by 1996, this had risen to 57 percent, comprising 46 percent of the labour force. Issues, such as child care, pay equity, parental leave, and compensation for housework, galvanized the women's movement.

The rise [in divorces] prompted a scolding column printed in the women's magazine *Chatelaine*. Its author distributed the blame for this obvious social breakdown among a host of likely and unlikely causes, including a postwar sense of impermanence, the growing respectability of divorce, women's economic independence, thin walls in apartment buildings, and prepared food.

women would naturally vote to ban the demon rum. By 1900, most chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had a franchise department, devoted to rallying support for female suffrage.

The WCTU brand of suffragette drew further support from a few women whose first concern was their own status. There was, even before the Great War, a growing number of working women. The majority of these were still servants, with factories as a second major employer. But there were also professionals – almost thirty-five thousand of them in 1901. They included teachers, civil servants, bank staff, nurses, and even a handful of female doctors. These women did not accept their legal status as children or nonpersons, and – unlike the farm wife or factory worker – they often had time to do something about it.

Even sympathetic politicians did not see votes for women as a pressing issue before the war, and many men were not sympathetic. Sir Rodmond Roblin, the premier of Manitoba, dismissed the vote issue as a crotchet of "short-haired women and long-haired men." But the war changed that climate. By the end of it, thirty thousand women were at work in munitions factories alone. More than ninety thousand women had entered professional jobs, and almost as many had found clerical ones. Premier Roblin's own province, Manitoba, was the first to give women the vote in provincial elections. By 1922, Quebec was the only province that barred women from voting in its elections.

Female suffrage had one immediate effect: Canada banned alcohol in 1918. This new national purity failed to last. Several provinces brought liquor back between 1920 and 1927. They were tempted beyond endurance by the prospect of valuable tax dollars. There were more lingering effects. In Canada, as in Britain and the United States, both world wars led to sharp rises in the divorce rate. Nonetheless, the rate in Canada remained very low, because divorce was a difficult and often humiliating process until 1968. (Adultery was one of a very short list of grounds for dissolution until then. In 1967, the year of Expo and the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, there were still women in Canada making a living by pretending to be co-respondents in divorce cases.) In 1918, Parliament granted precisely 114 divorces, a rate of 1.4 per 100,000 people.

In 1927, that number had grown to 748. The rise prompted a scolding column printed in the women's magazine *Chatelaine*. Its author, Madge MacBeth, distributed the blame for this obvious social breakdown among a host of likely and unlikely causes, including a postwar sense of impermanence, the growing respectability of divorce, women's economic independence, thin walls in apartment buildings, and prepared food. She wrote that "the temptation to serve paper-bag meals is affecting the character of our people." Maybe it was: the divorce rate had reached 18.4 by 1939, and leapt to 65.3 by 1947, in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The number of single mothers was greater, but only because there were so many widows. Even by 1929, unwed mothers accounted for a low 2.2 percent of births. It might be noted here that teen pregnancies and unwed welfare mothers, those staples of the newspaper's feature pages, have never been a major demographic element in this country. They are an imported concern.

The First World War had one destructive effect on many families. The country became more nativist, more suspicious of immigrants in general. Canadians became more concerned with integrating "acceptable" newcomers. (Officials and most of the

1927
The Old Age Pension Act, financed jointly by federal and provincial governments, is passed for needy persons age 70 or older who qualify according to a means test.

1930
Pablum, the first precooked, vitamin-enriched cereal for infants developed by Canadian pediatricians at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, is marketed internationally.

1932
Canada's first birth-control clinic is established in Hamilton.

1941
Jul 1 The Unemployment Insurance Act comes into effect.

1945
Jul 20 The Family Allowance program begins, providing monthly bonuses to parents with children under 18.

1946
Postwar "marriage mania" hits its peak with 10.9 marriages per 1,000 people, up from a rate of 5.9 during the Great Depression.

1951
The Ontario legislature passes the Fair Remuneration of Female Employees Act; the province, however, continues to set separate and unequal minimum wages for men and women for the next 12 years.

A universal old-age pension system is instituted, guaranteeing all Canadian citizens over age 70 a pension.

1959
The "Baby Boom" (1947-1966) hits its peak with 479,000 Canadian babies born. In total, Canada experiences the largest baby boom in the industrialized world.

1962
Canadian Dr. C.H. Kempe and his colleagues publish *The Battered Child Syndrome*, recognizing child abuse as a major social issue for the first time in Canada.

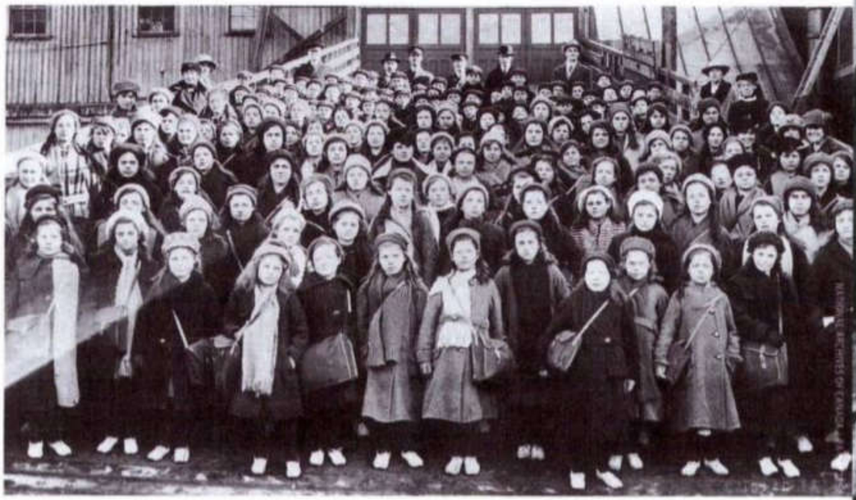
1963
Birth-control activists Barbara and George Cadbury organize the Canadian Federation of Societies for Population Planning (later called Planned Parenthood) to promote birth-control awareness.

1965
The Canada Pension Plan Act is passed to provide social insurance protection for retirement or disability.

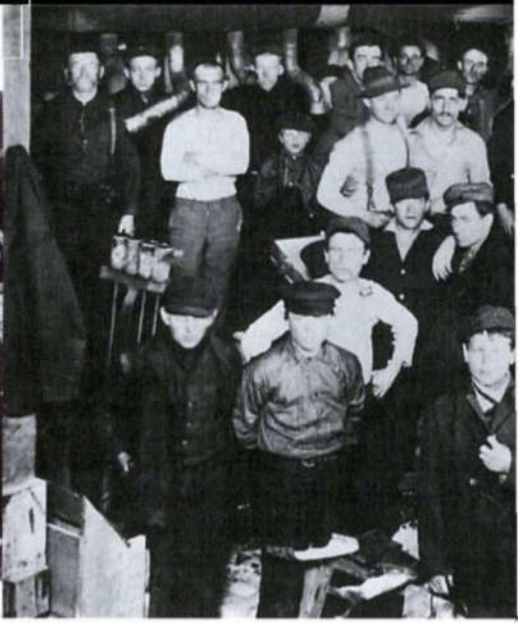
The Vanier Institute of the Family is organized as a charitable organization dedicated to promoting the well-being of Canadian families by Governor General Georges Vanier and Pauline Vanier

1967
Dec 22 Pierre Trudeau proclaims that the state has no place in the nation's bedrooms.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-24436



Above, left: Between 1869 and the early 1930s, more than 100,000 poor or orphaned children from Britain were sent to Canada. The children above arrived March 1920 in Saint John, New Brunswick, destined for receiving homes run by Thomas John Barnardo, then to Canadian farm families. Some social reformers naively believed that the children would lead idyllic childhoods in the Canadian countryside. More often, these "home children" were denied a childhood altogether, working as indentured servants and labourers and subjected to all varieties of abuse.



Above, right: Child labourers in a Manitoba glass factory, c. 1910. Child labour was accepted practice in Canada in the eighteenth century. In the 1870s, some provinces began regulating it in factories and mines, but it was not until 1929 that children under

public did not consider trying to assimilate nonwhite immigrants; they preferred to prevent Asians, Africans, and West Indians from immigrating at all.) Social agencies started trying to introduce "Canadian" family values, such as Christianity. One ludicrous offshoot of this was an effort by schools and aid workers to get immigrant mothers to abandon diets that were often low in fat and nutritionally sound, in favour of "Canadian" meals that constituted cholesterol time bombs.

But there were far more serious consequences. The law had already accepted the principle that juvenile delinquency reflected a poor home life. Over the next few decades, a corollary developed that the best answer for problem children was to remove them from their parents. As intolerance for any form of diversity increased, the definition of a problem child came to embrace almost any form of difficulty or deviation from an arbitrary idea of the norm, including poverty or the use of languages other than English or French. It was a line of reasoning that led to native residential schools, and to Canada's horrific roster of institutions for children without parents, or with poor ones.

The first target was the aboriginal population. The Department of Indian Affairs began to force native children into residential schools, often far from their homes, with the explicit aim of destroying their ties to their own cultures and their use of their own languages. We know now that many of these institutions inflicted physical violence and sexual assault on their charges, a danger no one in Indian Affairs seems ever to have considered.

The same complacence shows up in Canada's acceptance, until midcentury, of the so-called Barnardo boys – British orphans or children of the poor or the unwed shipped to the former colonies, often to work on farms. The homes that took in many of these real-life orphans bore no resemblance whatsoever to Green Gables; again, society did not protect these children from sexual and economic exploitation, from hunger and abuse.

If activists had hoped that the female vote would lead to a new era of concern for the family, they were out of luck. The decade that followed the war did not see any great new struggles for social reform. The crusading spirit had been sapped by the battles against Germany and for prohibition and the female vote. In addition, many Canadians were in no position to worry about perfecting family life. Today we often picture the decade after World War I as prosperous and frivolous – our own equivalent of the Roaring Twenties in the United States. But our economy in fact faltered in that decade, with a true depression between 1920 and 1923.

The major agitators of the postwar years were no longer women demanding votes, but men demanding jobs and the right to form unions. More women were working, but they were resented for taking jobs from men. The same attitude at least helped to push children out of the labour market – although that effort rarely extended as far as farms. Overall, however, Canada's feminist movement and social reformers didn't fit terribly well into this climate of class-oriented struggle, driven by developments in the rest of the West and, of course, newly communist Russia.

Relief services and often education remained largely in the hands of private agencies, such as the churches and the children's aid societies. This left Canada particularly ill equipped to cope with the global disaster of the Great Depression in the 1930s. Economic hardship had predictable effects on the family. The average age at marriage rose, because people couldn't afford to marry. Fertility rates dropped. (These trends were far less dramatic in Quebec, but even there family size was declining.) Birth control remained tricky because publicizing contraception was illegal. In 1936, a social worker was charged for offering information about birth control. Nonetheless, condoms were widely available, and sympathetic doctors could sometimes offer other methods. Moreover, many women knew about

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA / N17986

fourteen were legally excluded from such employment. Compulsory education and the Depression contributed to its demise, as unemployed men assumed jobs formerly held by children.

various methods of abortion, ranging from the useless to the effective to the suicidal.

The main problem facing families was poverty. Women and children suffered as fathers lost their jobs, and often left home seeking work. Yet Canada's government generally declined to tackle these problems head-on. Throughout the 1930s, Canada was far less interventionist than the United States, even under Herbert Hoover. Canada's R.B. Bennett continued to insist that the provinces alone were responsible for social welfare. He waited until 1935 to announce a "New Deal" in Canada, in blatant imitation of the programs of the new U.S. president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By then it was too late; Mackenzie King became prime minister in that year. But King wasn't really comfortable with massive economic intervention either.

Canada's recovery, in company with the rest of the world's, rode on the preparations for the next war. It can be painful to read about this country's official responses to the appalling poverty of the 1930s. The process of applying for relief was humiliating. The poor usually did not receive money – which they might waste on drink or luxuries – but credit vouchers like food stamps. Most programs were directed at men, although their wives were equally hungry. Goodwill was scarce. The press baron who would become Lord Thomson sat on a relief board in Northern Ontario in the '30s. He believed that most of the families he saw could have found work and lived on what it paid, were they only less shiftless.

That wasn't an unusual approach to the vast numbers of unemployed.

A Depression-era soup line. As male heads of the family left home to look for work, women and children were left behind to cope with gruelling poverty. The lack of adequate welfare policies of the Bennett and King governments meant the problem was passed onto provincial and municipal authorities, effectively devastating the economies of the western provinces. Ultimately, the 1930s experience changed Canadian perceptions on the role of the state in the welfare of its citizens, bringing about such programs as unemployment insurance in 1940.

1968

The federal Divorce Act is passed. Grounds for divorce include fault and breakdown. Previously, each province had its own divorce laws or, in the case of Quebec and Newfoundland, none at all.

1969

Apr 1 Quebec legalizes civil marriages, signalling its break from Roman Catholic tradition.

May 14 Legislation is passed liberalizing the restrictions on abortion, birth control, and homosexuality.

Contraception, illegal since 1892 unless shown to be "for the public good," is removed from the criminal code.

1970

Dec 7 The Royal Commission on the Status of Women releases its report which makes 167 recommendations for the achievement of gender equality.

1971

The Unemployment Insurance Act is amended to provide maternity benefits.

1975

In the Murdoch Case, the Supreme Court of Canada rules that a wife who had helped run the family ranch for 25 years is not entitled to a share of the property after divorce. Women's groups protest, leading to the reform of property laws across Canada.

1977

The Children's Law Reform Act passes in Ontario, eliminating the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children.

1978

The Ontario Act of 1978 recognizes unpaid housework by entitling the performer of this work to part of the family assets upon divorce.

1980

Linda MacLeod publishes *Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Cycle*, one of the first Canadian theoretical works focusing on male-to-female violence in marital relationships.

1981

The census now recognizes common-law marriages in their own category.

1982

Jul The Young Offenders Act replaces the Juvenile Delinquents Act, with juveniles between 12 and 18 years of age given the right to legal representation, tried under strict rules of evidence and proof, and limited to a maximum three-year sentence.

1985

Apr 17 Under a new section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, discrimination on the basis of gender is banned, legally granting equality to men and women.

When a social worker in the 1930s tried to find help for an abandoned wife, his superiors argued that hundreds of men would desert their homes if they thought the state would save their families from starvation. The woman was forced to give up her children for adoption.

There were many other families who endured forced separation. Ironically, such tragedies played out during a period of rich research on children and intellectual examination of successful parenting. In the United States, the avant-garde toyed with theories derived from the new field of child development or from anthropological studies—essentially raising their children as if they were Samoans. Unfortunately, an equally dotty school of thought had far more influence. Many Canadians encountered the theories of American psychologist Dr. John Watson, often filtered through this country's own resident experts. Watson taught that mothers should touch their children only to feed or change them. Responding to the wails of a child who was neither hungry nor wet would simply spoil the infant.

Canada's Dionne quintuplets arrive in Toronto for presentation to Queen Elizabeth in 1939. Taken from their parents as infants by the Ontario government, the Dionnes would spend the next nine years on display at the Quintland theme park, raising millions of dollars in revenue for the province's coffers. In March 1998, the three remaining quints received $4 million compensation that recognized not only their financial entitlement, but the lost years, which, the sisters contend, led to long-term, irreparable emotional damage.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-30616

This vision of parenting owes a great deal to the assembly line. It manages to see children as simultaneously blank—with no needs beyond physical comfort—and actively manipulative from birth. It helps to explain why Canadians gave so little thought to the kind of care children received in institutions, and to the effects of snatching a child from a familiar home and parents.

Other imported ideas had more benign effects. By the 1930s, for instance, Canadians were well aware of bacteria and the danger they presented. As a result, the infant mortality rate had declined impressively from the turn of the century, when Montreal's water supply wasn't significantly purer than Bombay's. This was obviously a good thing, but even it had a drawback. The combination of knowledge of germs and ignorance of psychology collided poignantly in the upbringing of Canada's greatest claim to fame in the hungry '30s, the Dionne quintuplets. Born to a relatively poor Franco-Ontario family, the Dionne sisters spent their early years in an environment designed to minimize exposure to germs while at the same time exposing them—behind glass—to hundreds of thousands of visitors who flocked to watch them play.

The Dionnes inspired a frenzy of sentimental adoration it's difficult to comprehend now. In an era when so many adults had to postpone or forgo parenthood, the Dionnes clearly functioned as a vicarious family, a home-grown, five-fold Shirley Temple. The authorities never seemed to grasp that these were human beings who would grow up. Once they ceased to be profitable, they were returned to a family they hardly knew.

Their appeal would have faded in any case. By the 1940s, Canadians were no longer satisfied with vicarious family life. They were tired of scrimping, suffering, and delaying domestic happiness. With the Second World War, families finally become the focus of some attention, in part because there were more of them. The marriage rate rose substantially between 1939 and 1952. The birth rate also enjoyed an impressive hike, because couples were again marrying early and more young brides could stay home as the economy recovered.

The war itself inevitably disrupted that trend to some extent. For the first time, Canada allowed women into the armed services, in addition to the large numbers employed in civilian industries to replace men in uniform. Yet the majority of Canadian women, according to a poll in 1944, believed that men should get preference for jobs in the postwar economy. After at least twenty years of enforced self-sacrifice, what people seemed most to want was a good time in their own homes. The war did create a new, if muted, atmosphere of entitlement, to which the government responded in its own tepid way. In 1940, Mackenzie King's government finally introduced unemployment insurance. In 1944, its eyes firmly on a postwar election, it brought in family allowances to mothers of children under

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Wedding, 1949. Following the Second World War, the marriage rate soared to its highest point in the century, with close to 11 marriages per thousand people. Since then, the institution has been marked by a steady decline, reportedly 5.2 per thousand in 1996. This is partly the result of a corresponding increase in divorce and common-law relationships.

the age of sixteen. It also passed a national housing act and a limited pension program.

These measures might not have been enough to keep the population satisfied, had the postwar years not featured prosperity and growth. Between 1947 and 1960, Canadians watched their incomes nearly double. Their response was to reproduce, creating a baby boom that lasted for two decades.

Babies were one feature of a package that included a suburban home, a car or two, a television, and a wife who stayed home and kept the place immaculate. The war did not lead to substantial social reform largely because people were entranced by a distinctly cloying image of domesticity. Raising children became an obsession. Canadians embraced an imported concept, permissive parenting. For the first time, teenagers became a separate demographic category and the focus of endless concern.

The legal age for leaving school in most provinces was raised to sixteen. Government at all levels grew exponentially in the fifteen years after the war's end, often in ways that assisted families. There was a growing recognition that not all problems were temporary, and that families were often not responsible for their own misfortunes. The provinces took over private welfare programs. Ottawa extended its concerns to health care, and added to its programs for unemployment and social security.

The results were not always entirely happy. For instance, the federal government paid the provinces more for sheltering children with disabilities than for children in regular institutions. That compassionate pragmatism, unfortunately, led to a famous scandal in Quebec. The government of Premier Maurice Duplessis simply reclassified many orphans and other children in institutions as retarded or emotionally disturbed. The province pocketed the extra money, and the children grew up, often in asylums for adults, victimized for conditions from which they did not originally suffer.

That ruthlessness was not peculiar to Quebec. To some extent, it was implicit in the vision of Canada as a vast Don Mills, the entire population commuting to work and school from happy homes in tidy suburbs. It was a vision that bred intolerance when faced with holdouts. The 1950s was the heyday of the residential school and the forced removal of children from their homes. It was also the last gasp of the dream of a Canadian melting pot, where immigrants would somehow

At the end of the Second World War, women married to Canadian servicemen – war brides – emigrated to Canada and joined in the postwar baby boom. Between the end of the war and 1965, Canada experienced a huge jump in its birth rate, hovering between 27 to 28.5 percent per 1000 between 1946 and 1959 (compared with a low of 20.1 in 1937). By 1965, however, with people marrying later and having access to better contraception, the birth rate started to decline.

1986

Jun The Divorce Act of 1985, which recognizes the all-encompassing "marriage breakdown" as the sole ground for divorce, becomes effective.

The Family Orders and Agreements Enforcement Assistance Act is passed to ensure the payment of child maintenance by ex-spouses after divorce.

1987

Canada reaches a peak year for divorces, with 362.3 per 100,000 people, up from 54.8 in 1968.

1988

Jan 28 The Supreme Court rules that the law restricting access to therapeutic abortion is unconstitutional.

1989

Nov Parliament unanimously passes a resolution to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000.

1992

Dec The federal government abolishes family allowance.

1996

Jul 15 Same-sex partners of federal government employees become eligible for spousal benefits.

1998

Mar 6 The three surviving Dionne quintuplets receive $4 million in compensation from the Ontario government for the childhood years they spent on display as wards of the province.

Dec The Special Joint Committee on Child Custody recommends changes to the Divorce Act that would ensure the involvement of both parents in their children's lives and introduces the term "shared parenting."

1999

Mar 6 The Quebec government announces an aid package of $3 million for the "Duplessis orphans," abandoned or orphaned children placed in mental institutions from the 1930s to 1950s, considered to be victims of the largest case of institutional-based youth abuse in Canadian history.

May 20 The Supreme Court rules a section of the Ontario Family Law unconstitutional on the grounds that it discriminates against homosexual partners; thereby legally changing the definition of "spouse."

May 31 Paul Boulais and Wilson Hodder of Nova Scotia become Canada's first gay men to receive survivors' benefits under the Canada Pension Act, following the deaths of their same-sex partners.

become Scottish Protestants. (Quebec had different objectives and its own concerns.) It's a Canada captured perfectly in Margaret Atwood's *Cat's Eye*, in much of the fiction of Alice Munro, in Sondra Gottlieb's Winnipeg novel *True Confections*. I attended school in Toronto in the 1950s and '60s, when kids named Raponi and Sato and Shapiro still routinely learned how to do the Highland fling.

In some ways, the end of 1950s domesticity was implicit in its beginnings. Industry and government, in Canada and everywhere in the Western world, had actively encouraged the *Leave It To Beaver* vision of life because it was so good for the economy. Women who had used a laundromat in their downtown apartments needed their own washers once they hit the suburbs. Men needed cars. The ideal for the bungalow was a room for every child, which was great news for the housing industry. The rise of the teen as a sep-

Getting Together

Once upon a time, not all that long ago, Canadians did not date. Young people went out in groups, not couples, often under the eye of a chaperone. By the turn of the century, however, it became respectable in some communities for a courting couple to go to public entertainments unchaperoned. The fictional Anne Shirley is meant to be a realistic and well-behaved heroine, and she attends concerts and the theatre with her fiancé.

Dating relative strangers developed largely in the wake of a historical and a technological watershed – the First World War and the affordable car. Men who had fought at the Somme were no longer submissive to social convention or parental authority. Their potential wives had enjoyed earning their own money while replacing those men at work. The car, an instant Canadian obsession, offered them a way to escape together.

Those changes gathered steam from a less perceptible shift in Canadian life, the growing rift between the generations. A young woman in the 1890s listened to the same kind of music at the same kind of social events as her parents. Over the course of this century, an ever-widening gulf has opened between the social and musical tastes of the different age groups. By the 1920s, affluent young women bobbed their hair and hopped into a suitor's Model-T to find a roadhouse where they could Charleston.

The date had ceased to be a reward for the couple who were already courting, and had become a date in our sense – a step on the road to a relationship. This did not hold true everywhere in the country. In Quebec, the middle class was far less permissive. But by the 1930s, despite widespread poverty, dating became more prevalent, because courtship became so prolonged. With the economy in disastrous shape, couples often had to delay marriage for years. Meanwhile the women's magazines, the movies, and the radio all reflected a world where dating was perfectly proper. The older generation no longer supervised courtship. In 1932 *Chatelaine* commented on the relief of a mother who had just married off her youngest daughter, and could at last come downstairs to her own living room whenever she felt like it. She had spent years skulking upstairs while her daughters entertained suitors.

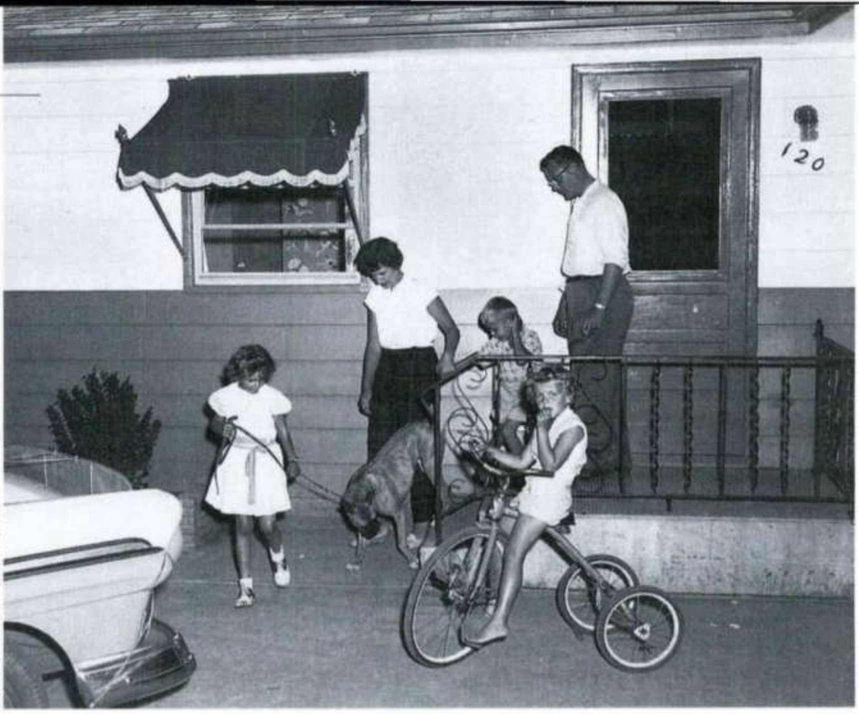
The zenith of the date was the 1950s. It was an era when mothers worried that their daughters were spending too much time on homework, when the schools taught girls how to behave on dates. (Don't act too bright, let him make the jokes.) Dating a lot – being popular – came to constitute almost an aim in itself.

It wasn't obvious at the time, but the '50s were also the last gasp for the idea of the innocent date. In that pre-Pill era, the idea was that a series of dates had a natural sexual progression – kissing, necking, heavy petting – that stopped short of intercourse. (The idea did not always match the reality, of course.) The Pill and the sexual revolution put an end to that. The hippies and their suburban copycats had no interest in anything as uncool as dates; they had sex with anyone they fancied, and drifted into "sharing space."

That flower-child style seems as antiquated now as copper-toed boots, yet dating has never fully recovered. The importance of the date has waned because the sexes know one another better, because women earn their own money, because marriage is no longer a woman's only career option, and because couples end up in bed long before the wedding night. For a lot of young people, the very idea of dating is permeated with irony. I've had students in their twenties come to me convulsed with embarrassed laughter, because they're going on the first date of their lives.

So how do couples get together? They meet and mate exactly the way Canadians did a hundred years ago: in groups. The venue has changed from the church social to the club or the bar, but our young people are back to hunting in herds. ▣

The change started first south of the border – not with Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem and the rest of the feminist crew, but with Hugh Hefner. For the 1950s celebrated two heroes: the solid family man and the swinging bachelor.



PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF ALBERTA / WS.193/3

Suburban family, 1958. The end of the Second World War brought prosperity and a reclamation of normalcy, with the postwar ideal of car, mortgage, and children attainable after nearly two decades of deprivation.

arate entity, neither child nor adult, did wonders for the sales of clothing, records, and hair products.

But consumerism is an enemy of self-discipline. The change started first south of the border – not with Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem and the rest of the feminist crew, but with Hugh Hefner. For the 1950s celebrated two heroes: the solid family man and the swinging bachelor. The bachelor was a man who bought what he wanted, rather than spending his earnings on the wife and kids. The new glamour of the bachelor – and the irresponsible teenager – started to undermine the appeal of self-sacrificing family life.

These factors alone could not have created the climate that led to our own precarious family patterns. Another influence was education. By the late 1950s, there was no longer any real debate about the universal right to a high-school education. In the 1960s, many Canadians had come to believe that anyone who wanted it was entitled to go to university. The number of students rose startlingly. Campuses, needing more faculty to meet the demand, recruited largely from the United States. The Vietnam war helped to ensure that Canada got a large share of professors with radical social and political attitudes. Education helped to create the so-called Quiet Revolution in Quebec – the sudden, almost inexplicable turning from religion and conservatism to a secular nationalism. It fed changes in the other provinces that were only slightly less obvious.

Perhaps most importantly, in 1960, Canadian pharmacies began to offer Enovid, an oral contraceptive. The end of the baby boom had already started in the previous year, but the pill nailed down its coffin. It eased access to a sexual freedom separate from the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood.

The government responded to these fundamental shifts in attitudes, with Ottawa for once in the lead. Pierre Trudeau, then the federal minister of Justice and Canada's own swinging bachelor, presided over a flurry of sweeping legal changes. A new divorce act in 1968 pretty well let couples dissolve their unions at will. In 1969, amendments to the Criminal Code decriminalized abortion, homosexuality, and formerly "indecent acts" performed by consenting adults in private.

It is because of innovations like these that Canadians today still see themselves as more progressive, more humane than Americans. Canada experienced little difficulty in including women's rights in its Constitution, in introducing universal health insurance (in 1966), and in embracing the notion of multiculturalism, rather than a melting pot. For once, we behaved in a more progressive manner than our neighbour.

For the past three decades, we have refined those changes of the late 1960s, built on them, and struggled with their aftermath. In 1985, for instance, Ottawa amended the Divorce Act to make no-fault dissolution possible for the first time, and to attempt to protect the rights of children when marriages failed. As a result, Canada's divorce rate, about 8 per cent in 1968, hit an all-time high of 44 percent in 1987.

We seem to have started the same kind of reevaluation that marked the turn of the last century. Then, women protested against their legal impotence as people, as wives and as mothers. Today, many divorced men and their representatives see the legal system as stacked in favour of women. They want more rights for men in custody cases. That holds true in many other areas of family life. Today, women have achieved what Nellie McClung and her colleagues wanted: they vote, they exist under the law, they're free to work. Now some stay-at-home mothers want the tax system changed, to benefit women who raise their own children full-time.

In many other areas of family life, we seem to have hit an extreme swing of the pendulum, and to be poised to move back at least part of the way. The middle of this century saw Canadians eager to sweep children out of "undesirable" homes and into institutions. Today, we are extremely reluctant to remove them even from abusive parents, partly because of our sense of the rights of the family, and partly because we have almost nowhere to put them. Mount Cashel, the native residential schools, and the Duplessis children have killed our infatuation with institutions. But the provinces' cash-starved foster-parent systems have start-

Left: A worker at Toronto's Sexual Education Centre dispenses birth-control advice, 1980. Although a criminal offence until 1969, birth control became a cause in the 1920s. Advocates argued that it would free women from the effects of continual pregnancy, reduce illegal abortion, and improve family health and welfare. While contraception was available under the table to the informed, it wasn't until the 1960s that family planning and the message "every child a wanted child" gained widespread acceptance. Contraception continues to be a controversial issue – to critics who see it as a cause of family breakdown and proponents who believe that teenage pregnancy and child abuse indicate a need for greater access.

TORONTO STAR

Right: In the later years of the twentieth century, traditional family roles changed. With women, traditionally homemakers and child raisers, sharing the role of breadwinner, men began sharing in the responsibilities at home. Recent changes to the Divorce Act recognize parenting as a joint responsibility, reflecting this social change.

ANDY SACKS / TONY STONE IMAGES

ed to break down, too. Similarly, in 1900, wife-beating was the most common Canadian crime. That means it must have been a truly major problem, for police did not always charge violent men. In the 1950s, with the triumph of the therapeutic approach in Canada, domestic violence became defined partly as a problem requiring treatment through counselling. By the time I was writing about the issue in the late 1980s, a more feminist school of social and justice workers had succeeded in defining wife-beating as an issue of sexism and power. Social agencies built a network of women's shelters. Counselling the offenders was out; jailing them was in. Many police departments began laying charges themselves, even if the battered women declined to do so. Today, Canada has antistalking laws. But there's also been a reaction. A number of police departments have begun to charge women as well as men again when they're dealing with a brawl. We are still groping for answers.

Over the course of this century, what Canadians have gained is freedom in their personal lives. In law, if not always in fact, women are not at their husbands' mercy. We recognize that parents do not have the right to brutalize their children, even if we haven't figured out how to stop them. Our officials do not intrude into our sex lives. The single mother is not harried into giving her child up for adoption. Canadians have used that freedom in the same way as people everywhere in the West. Huge numbers of them have decided against starting their own families, or have severed their marital ties. The single life is once again as respectable as it was a century ago, if for very different reasons. It's true that we have never lost the 1950s idea that children should be the centre of their parents' lives, and that they require tremendous amounts of stimulation, care, and emotional attention. But the burden seems to scare people off the whole idea, because our birth rate is much too low to replace our population.

At some point in the next century, something has to change, because we have developed a dangerous combination. We live in a country whose governments are held responsible for social welfare; we have a baby-boom generation heading into the health problems of old age; and we have a relatively small pool of young people to provide care and pay for it.

There are political parties and lobbying groups that believe the answer is yanking back some of our new freedoms. But that's a most unlikely scenario. It's hard to see Canadians accepting tougher new divorce laws or restrictions on contraception. Moreover, some of the changes we're seeing don't reflect freedom at all; they represent other forms of servitude. In one sense, we're back to the Canada of the 1920s and 1930s. Many young people don't marry today because they can't afford to form a new household.

A hundred years ago, the rights and identities of individuals, particularly those of women and children, were largely subservient to their roles and responsibilities within their families. Today, the rights of the individual are all, and the family has been left to fend for itself. Canadians no longer even share a general consensus on what a family is and how it should function. The family is unlikely to disappear, because we have nothing to replace it. But we are going to have to find new ways to adapt to our changed circumstances: our longer lives, our reproductive and personal freedom, our vastly expanded concept of the responsibilities of parenthood. Today, at least as much as a century ago, the family could certainly use some help.

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GRAHAM TAYLOR

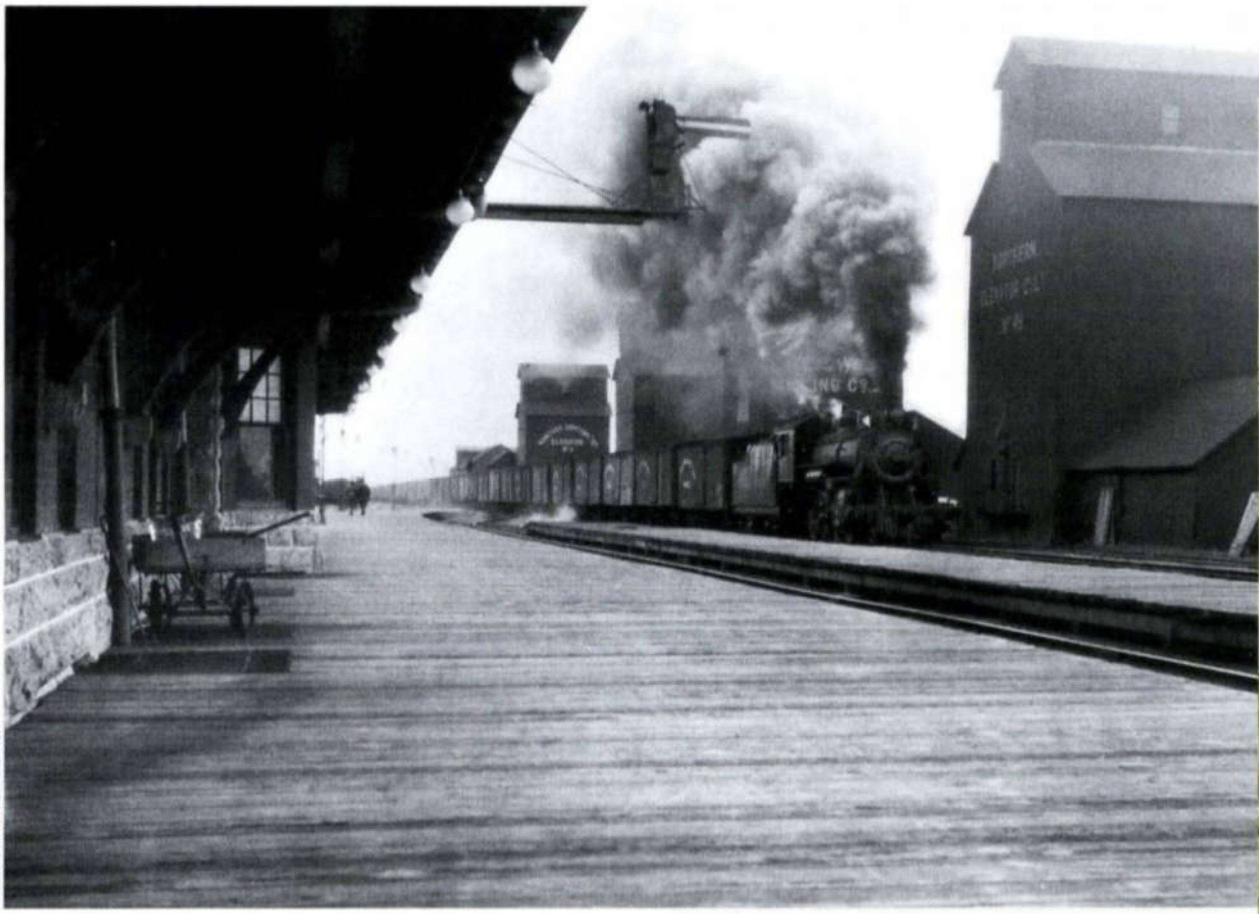
Business

CONQUERING

Conquering Distance

DISTANCE

Below: The Canadian Northern Railway in Dauphin, Manitoba. Canadian Northern was incorporated in 1899 from the amalgamation of two Manitoba branch lines. By 1903 it had emerged as a regional carrier, and its founders, Donald Mann and William Mackenzie, began to think about building a transcontinental system to rival the CPR.

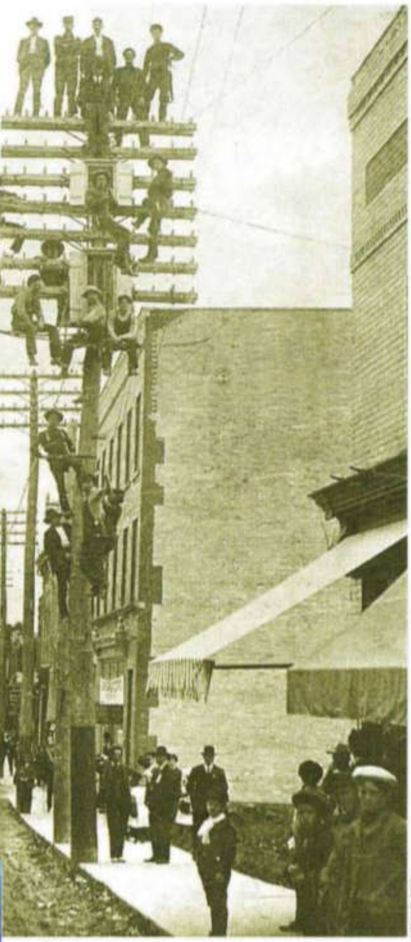


NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-7830

Above, right: Though the telephone was invented by Alexander Graham Bell in Brantford, Ontario in 1876, Bell assigned the Canadian rights to the invention to his father, who later sold them to the National Bell Telephone Company of Boston, Massachusetts. In 1906, when this picture was taken, the telephone was so popular whole forests were stripped to provide telephone poles to carry the myriad wires, and major centres began to turn to buried cable to meet demand. For much of the twentieth century, Bell Canada would become a classic branch-plant model of a Canadian company, but by the 1970s it would develop into a wholly Canadian-owned corporation.

In 1986, the company that Joseph-Armand Bombardier had founded in 1937 on the strength of his invention the "*auto-neige*," a forerunner of the popular Ski-Doo, launched itself in aerospace through the acquisition of Canadair Ltd. Subsequent acquisitions of Lear Jet Corp. and De Havilland have turned Bombardier into one of the largest designers and manufacturers of commuter and private executive aircraft in the world. Right: The seventy-passenger, twin-turboprop Bombardier Q400 Dash 8, launched in June 1995.

A fragile union of four colonies at Confederation, Canada was by 1900 a nation in the business of business. A railway spanned the country sea to sea, the West was filling with immigrants, bankers and bond dealers crowded into Montreal and Toronto's financial heartlands. But as Canada evolved commercially and industrially in the twentieth century, certain challenges remained ever present – a sprawling landmass, a sparse population, a cold climate, an economic-powerhouse neighbour. But each successful Canadian enterprise has in its own way and in its own time overcome these considerable obstacles.



BELL CANADA

BOMBARDIER AEROSPACE

A spirit of optimism permeated the Canadian business community in the first decade of the twentieth century. After the hard times of the 1890s and an even longer period of sporadic growth, improvements in the international economy gave promise of rising demand for the Dominion's abundant natural resources and in turn attracted new inflows of capital from abroad to help develop the country's industries. In 1906 a British observer, John Hobson, lauded Canada's "boundless confidence and booming enterprise," which in turn prompted Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier at the end of the decade to boast that the century would "belong to Canada."

Nowhere was this optimism more apparent than in Canada's western provinces, particularly Manitoba and Saskatchewan, whose major product, wheat, accounted for one-sixth of all Canadian exports by 1914. The wheat boom fostered growth in a wide range of businesses, both in the burgeoning cities of the region, notably Winnipeg and Saskatoon, and in Ontario and points east where manufacturers of farm machinery, grain brokers and processors, and banks all took their share of the profits of the trade.

At the same time, western ebul-

1900

The first credit union in North America is founded in Lévis, Quebec.

1901

The wheat boom begins in Canada. By 1914 wheat becomes the country's major export commodity with grain elevators and mills popping up across Western Canada.

1904

Henry Ford establishes his first automobile plant in Canada, marking the era of mass production and consumption.

1906

May 14 The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, the first public hydroelectric utility in the world, is founded.

1907

In Quebec, the Brompton Pulp and Paper Company becomes the first in North America to manufacture kraft paper.

Canada Dry ginger ale is patented by Canadian inventor John J. McLaughlin.

1909

The Powell River Paper Company Ltd. is formed with head offices in Vancouver. Now called MacMillan Bloedel Limited, it is Canada's largest forest-products company.

1910

George Weston Limited is incorporated. Over the next 75 years it becomes the fifth largest Canadian corporation, with annual sales of over $10 billion.

The Combines Investigation Act is set up to regulate mergers and agreements among competitors and to restrain trade among retailers.

1913

Canadian inventor Gideon Sundback receives a U.S. patent for his invention, the zipper.

1914

The opening of the Panama Canal shortens the ocean journey from the Pacific to Europe, making the sea a more efficient alternative to the east-west rails for grain shipment. Vancouver replaces Winnipeg as the main grain shipping terminal, ending the prairie city's glory days as the "Gateway to the West" and the Canadian equivalent to Chicago.

1916

The New Jersey-based International Nickel Company establishes the International Nickel Company of Canada, Ltd. (Inco) as a subsidiary. By 1928, an exchange of shares makes the Toronto-based subsidiary the parent company, although Inco remains almost entirely foreign-owned.

1918

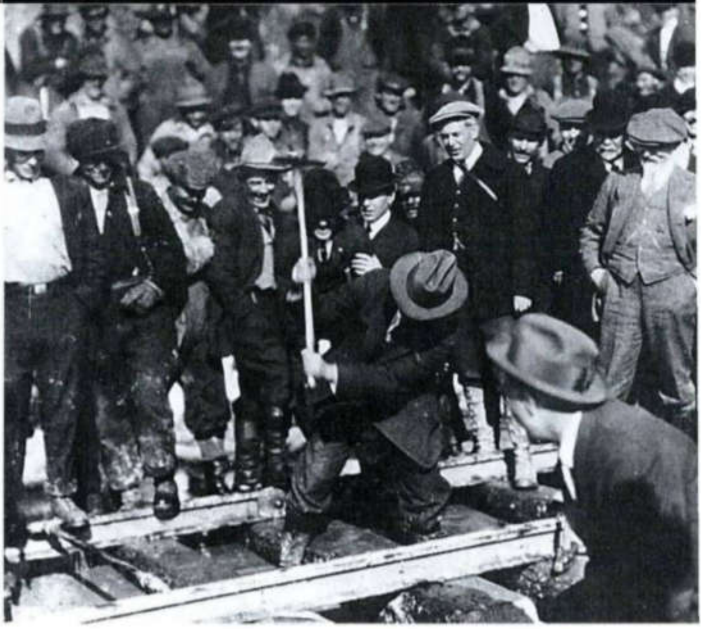
The McLaughlin Motor Company of Oshawa, Ontario, and the Chevrolet Motor Company of Canada Ltd. merge to form General Motors of Canada, a wholly owned subsidiary of the American General Motors Corporation.

Dominion Stores is incorporated with head offices in Toronto. It remains a major Canadian food distributor and merchandiser until its demise in February 1987.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA/PA-021726

Left: Canadian Northern's coal and ore dock at Port Arthur, now Thunder Bay.

Right: Thirty years after Lord Strathcona drove the CPR's last strike at Craigellachie, creating Canada's first transcontinental railway, William Mackenzie drove the last spike on Canadian Northern Railway, at Basque, B.C., January 23, 1915. But the railway was financially troubled, and in 1919 it and four other railways were incorporated into Canadian National Railways.



lience was tempered by a lingering sense of regional resentment bred in the harsher economic climate of the preceding decades. The dominant role of eastern banks in the flow of credit to wheat farmers and processors, the National Policy tariffs that shielded Ontario manufacturers and thus imposed higher costs on western producers – these were part of the litany of discontent that prosperity diluted but never fully eliminated. In this context, the Canadian Pacific Railway was a special target. Welcomed initially as the region's link to world wheat markets, fifteen years after the last spike was driven in 1885, the CPR was regarded with – at best – mixed feelings. Although the Montreal-based company gave up the monopoly clause in its charter in 1888 ("in the interests of peace in the northwest" in the words of George Stephen, the CPR's president), western shippers grumbled perpetually over what they perceived to be regionally discriminatory freight rates and criticized the company's dominant role in running grain elevators and warehouses and its ownership of the best real estate along the line.

This combination of optimism and western discontent formed the backdrop for the emergence of the Canadian Northern Railway, initially as a major regional player and then as a transcontinental challenger to the CPR between 1899 and 1914. Ultimately the ambitions of the founders of Canadian Northern, William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, exceeded their grasp. They were forced out of the company, but the aftershock led to the creation of the Canadian National Railway, the first major example of what would become by the latter part of the century a common feature of the Canadian business landscape – the Crown corporation.

Both Mackenzie and Mann had been involved in the construction of the CPR in the 1880s. Mackenzie had then moved into the construction of electric street railways in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Halifax and a host of smaller cities, branching out into broader electric power systems abroad as well as across Canada. By the end of the 1890s, Mackenzie had assembled what historians H.V. Nelles and Christopher Armstrong characterize as a "*de facto* national utilities conglomerate," and had laid the groundwork for an electric power company in Sao Paulo, Brazil, which would evolve into Brascan. At that point, frustrated in a bid to enter the British electric utilities market, he was susceptible to an alternative project brought to his attention by his erstwhile colleague, Donald Mann.

Since the early 1890s, the government of Manitoba, resentful at what it saw as CPR's reluctance to meet regional needs, had been hawking provincial railway charters replete with bond guarantees and land grants. In 1895, Mackenzie and Mann took up one such project, the Canadian Northern Railway, to build a line from Winnipeg to Hudson Bay. But they stalled on developing this route, using the charter instead as a means of linking up unfinished lines between Ontario and what is now Saskatchewan, directly challenging the CPR in Manitoba. These enterprises proved to be quite popular among the Manitoba farmers, and the developers enhanced this atmosphere of goodwill by employing local subcontractors and workers. As Canadian Northern's historian Ted Regehr put it, their projects "had something of the air of a barn-raising ... everyone was allowed to pitch in and do what they could."

By 1903, Canadian Northern had emerged as a regional carrier, extending into present-day Saskatchewan and the North-West Territories, and linking its line with an American transcontinental, the Northern Pacific Railway. They also brought in U.S. partners to challenge the CPR in the field of grain elevators. At this point, a grander vision began to take shape: Mackenzie and Mann began buying unfinished or shorter lines in eastern Canada, with an eye toward knitting them together into a trunk system that would span the continent. Despite a sharp stock-market panic in 1907, investors quickly regained confidence, and the prolonged economic boom accelerated. Two years later Canadian Northern announced plans to create a full transcontinental line, seeking $130 million in new financing on the Canadian and British money markets.

Canadian Northern was only one of many players on the railway-building scene by this point. Partly in response to the challenge, CPR had steadily expanded since 1903, double-tracking its prairie lines. An older company, Grand Trunk, under the leadership of an aggressive American manager, Charles Hays, was undertaking another transcontinental project and contemplating alliances with U.S. carriers, simultaneously expanding westward and southward. The Laurier government, caught up in the railway mania, supported these schemes and contemplated developing a part of the transcontinental lines, linking Quebec and the Maritimes.

But now the good fortune that had smiled upon railway promoters began to fade. Laurier's government fell in 1911, succeeded by a Conservative regime under Robert Borden that was skeptical of the benefits of two new transcontinental lines to compete with the Tory-supported CPR. The next year Charles Hays and his dreams went down with the *Titanic*. Finally in 1914, when war broke out in Europe, sending securities markets in Britain and North America into a tailspin, Mackenzie and Mann faced a day of reckoning. All through the early development of Canadian Northern, they had proceeded prudently in financing expansion, and in normal times their grander plans might have found steady investors. But even before the war disrupted capital flows, they were running into problems. In 1913 and again in 1915, Mackenzie had to plead for new subsidies and loans from the federal government; each time funds were provided only in return for an expanded equity position for the government in Canadian Northern. Meanwhile, the Grand Trunk, with Hays gone, joined in the demand for more funding if it were to finish its project, which included the government-owned eastern link. By 1917, Borden concluded that it was necessary to take over Canadian Northern completely. This led to an interview with the exhausted and despondent Mackenzie, who, according to the discomfited Borden, "completely broke down with audible sobs which were most distressing." Three years later, following a Royal Commission report, the federal government amalgamated Canadian Northern and the entire Grand Trunk system into a single publicly owned entity, Canadian National Railways.

The exhausted and despondent Mackenzie ... "completely broke down with audible sobs which were most distressing."

During the First World War, the Canadian government had experimented with Crown corporations to manufacture military materials that private firms were unable (or had demonstrably failed) to produce. But these were temporary operations in an emergency setting. Canadian National was a long-term investment for the federal government, a novel undertaking – although there were precedents for publicly owned utilities at the municipal and provincial levels, most notably in the telephone field (in the western provinces) and Ontario Hydro.

It's interesting that the CNR was a Crown corporation established by a Conservative government. Even more interesting is that the Tory prime minister, Robert Borden, had been an advocate of the idea since 1903. He admitted no ideological commitment to public enterprise. He didn't think that Canada could afford more than one transcontinental rail system, but since there were now several in operation, they should be run as efficiently as possible even if this required an unprecedented degree of government intervention.

Crown corporations would flourish in Canada, particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War, reaching a crescendo of sorts in the Trudeau era, when public enterprises could be found in everything from oil extraction to aircraft manufacturing. During this period, Canadian National began to emulate private corporations (including the CPR), diversifying into a range of areas only marginally (if at all) related to the railroad business, including a hotel chain, telecommunications, and oil exploration. By the 1990s, however, the company had divested itself of many of these ventures and was concentrating again on rail service. More critically, however, the Canadian government, reflecting a global trend to privatization, embarked on its own program of divestiture. In 1995, Canadian National was transformed back into a private corporation, capitalized at $2.2 billion, the largest privatization in Canadian history.

1919

Jun 6 The Canadian National Railways incorporates as the federal government's first major crown corporation. Between 1917 and 1923, CN develops through the amalgamation of five financially troubled railways in Canada.

1922

Sep Brothers John W. and Alfred J. Billes found Hamilton Garage and Rubber Company in Toronto (renamed Canadian Tire Corp Ltd. in 1927) as a wholesaler and merchandiser of automotive products.

1924

Samuel Bronfman founds Distillers Corporation Ltd. in Montreal. In 1928, he merges with Joseph E. Seagram and Sons of Waterloo, Ontario, creating the largest distilling firm in the world, Distillers Corporation-Seagrams Ltd. (Seagram Company Limited as of 1975).

1925

Chrysler Corp. of Canada incorporates in Windsor, Ontario, and builds 4,474 cars its first year.

1927

Canadian inventor Edward Samuel Rogers receives a patent for his alternating-current (AC) radio, which replaces the need for battery-operated radios.

1929

Oct 29 Black Friday. Toronto and Montreal stock markets follow the New York Stock Exchange and crash, ushering in the Great Depression.

1930

Harold Innis publishes *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* in which he concludes that Canada is now exporting outside of the British Empire to a greater extent than within the Empire. Between 1912 and 1930, exports to Britain decrease by 23% while exports to the U.S. and foreign markets increase by 8% and 13% respectively.

1935

The federal government establishes the Bank of Canada to issue paper currency, act as a fiscal agent and banker for the federal government, set the bank rate, and implement and formulate monetary policy.

The Canadian Wheat Board is established as a voluntary marketing agency to save the wheat cooperatives from bankruptcy during the "dust-bowl" drought. In 1943, the CWB becomes compulsory and the sole marketing agency for prairie wheat, and in 1949 for barley and oats.

1937

Apr 10 Trans-Canada Airlines (Air Canada as of Jan 1, 1965) is created as a publicly owned air transportation service.

1942

CP Air Lines (later CP Air) is created following Canadian Pacific Railway's acquisition of Grant McConachie's Yukon Southern Air Transport.

1943

Bombardier Inc. is founded in Montreal by J. Armand Bombardier, the inventor of the snowmobile, to manufacture and market his products.

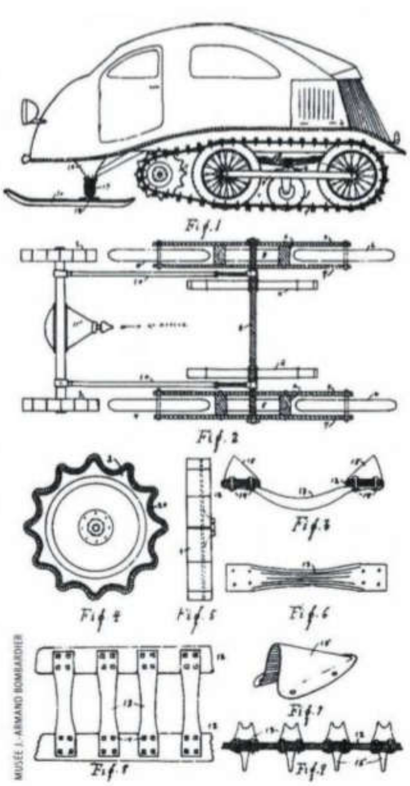
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C [illegible]

Ski-Doo was perfectly attuned to the times and transformed Bombardier into a mass-market industry.

Three years later Canadian National entered an agreement with Illinois Central Corporation. In December 1999, it announced its pending merger with the American railroad Burlington Northern Santa Fe, making it the largest freight system in North America. Curiously, then, as the century ended, Canadian National had reverted to its original status: a privately owned transcontinental line, as envisaged by Mackenzie and Mann, linked into the American network, realizing the vision that Charles Hays had taken with him on his ill-fated voyage on the *Titanic*.

Joseph-Armand Bombardier (1907–1964), inventor of the snowmobile.

Below: Bombardier's 1936 patent drawing for his *auto-neige*, a tracked vehicle on skis.



MUSÉE J.-ARMAND BOMBARDIER

In sharp contrast to the first decade of the century, the 1930s was an era marked by pessimism, fear, and upheaval. The Great Depression hammered all of the industrialized economies, but its impact on export-dependent countries like Canada was particularly harsh. As world trade shrank by four-fifths between 1929 and 1933, Canada's national income collapsed by 50 percent. Thousands of businesses disappeared, and even the largest confronted devastating losses. As late as 1939, for example, the CPR's earnings were only half the level of a decade earlier.

It was an inauspicious time for new enterprises to emerge, and particularly improbable for a French-Canadian company in backwoods Quebec. Although by the 1920s there were francophone entrepreneurs (among them Charles Trudeau who made a small fortune running a chain of auto rental and insurance agencies, enabling his son, Pierre, to set his sights on higher goals), traditionally the best-educated French Canadians had migrated into professions such as law or education rather than into business. The "French" banks of Quebec (supplemented by the *caisses populaires* founded by Alphonse Desjardins in the early 1900s) provided a small capital base for francophone enterprises; but they faced formidable obstacles to expansion, and up to the 1960s there were few French-Canadian companies operating on a national level.

In this unlikely setting, in 1937 a small company founded by Joseph-Armand Bombardier in Valcourt, Quebec, acquired a patent for a tracked vehicle mounted on skis that was particularly suited to transportation in the snowbound rural areas of Canada. A tinkerer and self-made manufacturer in the style of Henry Ford, Bombardier had studied mechanical and electrical engineering but had no advanced degrees. He had begun experimenting with what was to become the snowmobile in the 1920s, placing one of Ford's Model T engines on a steel-belted track. After seven years of experimenting, Bombardier developed his B-7 model snowmobile, which used metal sprocket wheels mounted on rubber tracks, capable of carrying up to seven passengers.

Like Ford's Model T, Bombardier's B-7 "*auto-neige*" was particularly suited to farmers and people in small towns in rural Quebec, which provided a limited but growing market for his vehicles in the late 1930s. The onset of World War II created a new opportunity for Bombardier to reach a wider audience. In 1941 the Canadian military contracted the company to build twelve-passenger snowmobiles suitable for winter operations. Although Bombardier later complained that he had "lost money" on his wartime contracts, by 1942 he felt confident enough to incorporate as L'Auto-Neige Bombardier Ltée., and expanded his operations. In the years after the war, international as well as Canadian forestry and oil exploration companies provided a steady market for snowmobiles. Although production runs were not large, the company owned several plants and was netting earnings of $1 million per year by the 1950s, a Quebec success story.

The coming of civilization, in the form of paved roads, in rural Quebec threatened the company's core market by the end of that decade, and Bombardier began looking at alternative products. During the 1920s, two American inventors had developed small motor-driven toboggans, and the Kitchener, Ontario branch plant of a U.S. company named Four Wheel Drive had produced a more advanced version, primarily for surveyors working in the Arctic. Curiously, this company decided to get out of this business in the early 1960s just as Bombardier was entering the field.

Bombardier's new product, dubbed the Ski-Doo, was a much smaller version of his snowmobile, with skis mounted at the front and designed for one or two passengers to move quickly across any kind of snowy terrain. Although Bombardier may have brought it out as a supplement to his larger, more bulky vehicles, the timing of the appearance of the Ski-Doo was fortuitous. The 1960s was an era of affluence across North America and spending on leisure activities was growing. In addition, it was a period of low oil and gas prices with new discoveries in Canada and the

Middle East holding the promise of limitless supplies of cheap fuel. The Ski-Doo was perfectly attuned to the times. Its popular appeal as a recreational vehicle transformed Bombardier from a manufacturer of specialized equipment for a niche market into a mass-market industry that doubled its output annually throughout the decade.

The 1960s also witnessed major changes in Quebec's political and economic environment in ways that would significantly affect Bombardier and other French-Canadian companies. The Quiet Revolution ushered in a period of rapid political change and economic development under an increasingly self-confident French-Canadian elite. By the end of the decade, a nationalist movement emerged, surging to power in Quebec in 1976 under the leadership of René Lévesque. Lévesque's Parti Québécois sought to mobilize the policies of the provincial government in support of French-Canadian economic development, augmented by the formidable resources of Quebec's civil-service pension fund, the *Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec*.

This was the context within which the Bombardier company evolved from essentially a single-product firm into a diversified multinational. In 1964, the founder died, leaving his enterprise in the hands of his sons and – more crucially – his son-in-law, Laurent Beaudoin. All through the middle years of the decade, Ski-Doo sales boomed and the company could have coasted along with its profits. Beaudoin, however, emerged as the leading figure in the firm, and reinvested earnings into vertical integration, acquiring control of its suppliers and branching out into motorcycles, recreational gear, and clothing.

But the energy crisis of the early 1970s brought a sudden end to the Ski-Doo boom. By 1975, Bombardier's sales languished at one-fourth their 1971 levels. Fortuitously, the Quebec government was seeking a homegrown manufacturer of subway cars to serve the anticipated growth in traffic for the 1976 Olympics in Montreal. Although Bombardier had no experience in this field, Beaudoin saw it as an opportunity. After a successful bid against the British company, Vickers, Bombardier took over an American locomotive builder, MLW-Worthington, (aided by loans from the *Caisse de dépôt*) to provide it with the manufacturing base for its subway contract.

This initial foray into a new industry was fraught with problems, and at one point Bombardier needed financial help from the provincially controlled SGF Group to keep its operations moving. But the Montreal subway venture provided Bombardier with a base of experience for expanding more broadly into the mass-transit market. By the end of the 1970s, the company had contracts in Chicago, Mexico City, and Dublin. Its greatest coup came in 1982 when it became the major supplier of subway cars for New York City, with a $1 billion contract.

Although Bombardier did not abandon the recreational vehicle field – in 1988 it brought out the Sea-Doo personal watercraft – increasingly Beaudoin turned his attention toward large-scale industrial operations. During the 1980s, the company moved into the aerospace field, acquiring two Crown-owned companies, Canadair Ltd. and De Havilland, relics of an earlier era when the Canadian government sought to develop a homegrown aircraft industry. Before the Second World War, there were virtually no aircraft manufacturing companies in Canada. The British-owned Canadian Vickers briefly ventured into this field in the 1920s, and another British firm, De Havilland, had an even smaller operation in Canada at the end of the 1930s, providing bush planes for wilderness operations. By 1945 government-owned plants were turning out a range of aircraft from scout planes to long-range bombers. In the heady postwar years, the Canadian government sought to sustain this investment by attracting U.S. and British manufacturers with promises of subsidies and tax benefits. The most notable entrant was Avro Canada, a subsidiary of the British company, Hawker-Siddeley. Among others who flocked to the trough was Canadair, a spawn of the American arms maker, General Dynamics, which acquired a government aircraft plant in Montreal.

As Cold War tensions grew, the air-

1947

Oct 20 Canada and 22 other countries sign the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) framework to conduct, regulate, and liberalize world trade. GATT opens up the international market for Canada by reducing tariff and trade barriers.

1952

Sep 17 Simpsons-Sears Ltd. is incorporated as a Canadian catalogue and retail company.

1960

The Hudson's Bay Company begins its expansion into eastern Canada with the acquisition of Henry Morgan and Company.

1962

Murray Koffler opens his first Shoppers Drug Mart Ltd. in Toronto, a new concept for Canadian pharmacies that allows owner/operator pharmacists the economies of scale of a large chain.

1965

Jan 16 Prime Minister Pearson and U.S. President Johnson sign the Canada-U.S. Automotive Agreement (Auto Pact), agreeing to eliminate all tariffs on new cars and car parts manufactured in either country.

Caisse de dépôt et placement is set up to hold Quebec's pension fund, becoming by the early 1980s the portfolio manager of revenues from a variety of government bodies and a major instrument in the expansion of Quebec business.

1967

Imax Systems Corporation is formed to produce IMAX (large screen) and OMNIMAX (dome screen) motion picture projection systems.

1969

The Reichmann brothers, Albert, Paul, and Ralph, incorporate Olympia & York, which becomes one of the world's largest private real-estate companies.

The Canada Development Corporation (CDC) is established to develop and maintain private sector companies that are Canadian controlled and managed.

1973

The federal government establishes the Foreign Investment Review to screen investments by nonresidents, approving only those that will be beneficial to Canada.

1975

The federal government creates Petro-Canada to expedite petroleum and energy exploration and development in Canada.

1976

Jan 14 The T. Eaton Co. announces the end of its catalogue sales operation due to heavy losses.

Dec 3 Wage and price controls become law to control inflation caused by the skyrocketing prices of the OPEC-controlled crude oil.

1978

Massey-Ferguson Limited, a prominent Canadian farm machinery and equipment manufacturing company since 1847, experiences the biggest loss ($262 million) of any corporation in the history of Canada. In 1987, it disappears into the new Varity Ltd.

craft firms thrived. But the cancellation of Avro's fighter-interceptor, the Arrow, in 1959 and the subsequent closure of Avro marked the end of the boom period. De Havilland and Canadair stayed on, however, developing specialized expertise suited to Canadian conditions: De Havilland's Dash 7 was designed to operate in regions featuring rugged terrain and short landing strips; Canadair's Challenger jet was particularly targeted for the executive travel market.

Both companies were encountering financial problems by the mid-1970s, and the Trudeau government took them over, portraying its actions as support for Canadian high-tech industry. Between 1974 and 1984, the two enterprises received over a billion dollars in new subsidies and loan guarantees. Unfortunately their planes went into commercial production in the midst of another slump, in the mid-1980s, prompting moves by the new Conservative regime of Brian Mulroney to reprivatize them. Bombardier, benefiting in part from the Mulroney government's desire to support Quebec industry, acquired Canadair in 1986 with a significant write-off of the Crown corporation's debt. Three years later, Bombardier extended its aircraft investment into international markets, purchasing Short Brothers, another debt-ridden state-owned company, from the British government, which provided the Quebec company with component manufacturing for Canadair's new executive jets.

De Havilland Canada passed into the hands of the American company Boeing, but by 1992 Bombardier acquired De Havilland as well. As the century ended, the dream of a Canadian aircraft industry that had enraptured the postwar generation had been assembled on a more practical basis by a French-Canadian company whose existence was virtually unknown to most Canadians in 1945.

In the years immediately following World War II, Canadians embraced foreign investment as essential for the country's economic growth. By the 1960s prosperity had arrived, but so too had a more skeptical – even hostile – attitude toward the branch-plant economy. Throughout the decade, government commissions expounded on the dangers of foreign ownership for Canadian innovation and even its political independence. By the mid-1970s the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) had been setup, and the Canadian Development Corporation was deploying government funds to repatriate foreign-owned firms. The energy crisis of that decade spawned Petro-Canada as the nation's chosen instrument to defend Canadian oil resources as part of a National Energy Policy. By the mid-1980s this nationalist tide was ebbing (the Mulroney government, elected in 1984, announced that Canada was "open for business" and rechristened the much-maligned FIRA as Investment Canada), but fears of foreign, especially American, economic influence lingered through prolonged debates over the Canadian-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, and its successor, the North American Free Trade Agreement, in the 1990s.

Ironically, through this period a staid representative of an American-owned branch plant was quietly remaking itself into a high-tech Canadian enterprise and ultimately a conglomerate with global ambitions. Bell Canada's transformation had little to do with the storm in Ottawa over foreign ownership, but by the end of the twentieth century it had emerged as an embodiment of the globalization of the Canadian business system.

Canada can lay fair claim to being the homeland of Scottish-born Alexander Graham Bell, who invented the telephone in Brantford in 1876. The telephone business, however, was launched in Boston the following year by Bell's father-in-law, Gardiner Hubbard. The Canadian rights to his invention Bell had assigned to his father, Melville, but two years later the latter sold the rights to the American Bell company. To develop the Canadian business, the Boston firm recruited an extraordinary character named Charles Sise. A New England-born sea captain, Sise married into an Alabama family before the American Civil War and chose to join the Confederacy, operating as a blockade runner throughout that conflict. Afterwards, as a virtual man without a country, Sise readily took up the Bell offer to migrate to Montreal, and devoted the rest of his life to building the Canadian enterprise, bequeathing the presidency of Bell Canada to his son and colonizing the firm with other relatives. Sise was both a good servant to the American owners and a vigorous exponent of autonomy for the Canadian venture.

Initially, American Bell's strategy was to use its patent to monopolize the telephone field, buying up or litigating its competitors out of business. Sise pursued the same route in Canada, merging with firms that held rival patents and buying out smaller companies. Ultimately, Sise was foiled in his efforts to control telephone systems across the country. Regarding the Montreal-based company with the same suspicion they directed against the CPR, the prairie provinces opposed Bell Canada's expansion and established publicly owned services within their own borders in the early 1900s. Although Sise acquired shares in telephone companies in the Maritimes and British Columbia, Bell Canada exercised control primarily in Quebec and Ontario.

By the end of the 1880s, however, the U.S. company, under the leadership of Theodore Vail, had moved to a longer-term strategy that would maintain Bell's competitive advantage by integrating into manufacturing telephone equipment through an affiliate, Western Electric, and by investing in Bell Laboratories, a pioneering corporate research venture that would ensure the company stayed ahead of potential rivals. Sise followed suit by branching into manufacturing through Northern Electric. But the Canadian company did not engage in research on the same scale, relying instead on a steady flow of new products from the American firm through Bell Labs and its link with Western Electric. Although American Bell (later A.T. & T.) never held more than one-third of the shares of Bell Canada, it exercised substantial control through research and manufacturing agreements. Bell Canada thrived over the next seventy years but it was in many respects a truncated enterprise, dependent on the parent company in critical areas – and thus a classic case of the branch-plant model that alarmed Canadian nationalists in the middle of the twentieth century.

Curiously, the events that led to the breakup of the A.T. & T. and Bell Canada connection had nothing to do with Canadian concerns but were the outgrowth of a quintes-

Miss Ida Gardner at a two-position, No. 1 Standard switchboard around the turn of the century. Improvements in switchboard technology meant operators could handle not tens of calls, but hundreds. At first, boys were hired as operators, but they earned a reputation for being rude, and young women, socialized to be more polite, and eager for any new job opportunities in a man's world, soon took their place at switchboards.

In 1978 Bell Canada outbid large foreign firms such as ITT and Philips to win a US$3.5 billion contract to supply Saudi Arabia with telecommunications equipment.

sentially American phenomenon, the antitrust suit. A.T. & T. had long been a prospective target for opponents of monopoly in the U.S. government, and in 1949 a case was brought by the U.S. Justice Department seeking to sunder the ties between the telephone company and its manufacturing arm, Western Electric. In 1956, A.T. & T. settled the suit out of court by agreeing to have Western grant nonexclusive licences to future patents. Western Electric then sold its shares in companies that had formerly been linked to it through licence agreements, including Northern Electric. At the same time, A.T. & T. began to reduce its investment in Bell Canada – a twenty-year process, owing to the value of the shares. The last vestiges of foreign ownership were finally severed in 1975.

The unsought-for break with A.T. & T. generated an atmosphere of crisis at Bell Canada by the mid-1960s. Although revenues from basic telephone service continued to flow, the future development of the company was at risk once Northern Electric's access to new technology from Bell Labs in the United States was cut off. At the same time, Bell Canada faced a new challenge in its traditional market when CPR embarked on an incursion into the telecommunications field. To meet these challenges, Bell Canada's emerging leaders, Robert Scrivener and Jean de Grandpré, had to virtually remake the company, transforming it from a regional telephone service provider into an enterprise focused on advanced research and operating in a global market.

As a first step, Northern Electric was overhauled to become a research-intensive company, emphasizing satellite communications as a participant in Telesat Canada, a consortium of Canada's nine largest telephone companies, and the development of microelectronic communications, building on the transistor-based technology it had acquired through the Bell Labs connection. By the end of the 1970s, rechristened as Northern Telecom, it was identified by the Science Council of Canada (an advocate of nationalist economic policies) as a shining example of homegrown Canadian technological maturity.

By this time the focus of Canadian public policy was shifting from protecting Canada's economic sovereignty to promoting Canadian exports and international competitiveness. Bell Canada's and Northern's managers had their own reasons for looking abroad for markets: to achieve economies of scale sufficient to support continuing investment in high-end research, Northern Telecom needed larger development contracts than Canadian clients could provide. After several minor forays overseas, Northern achieved a major coup in 1978 when it secured a $3.5 billion (U.S.) contract

1979

Ken Thomson, son of media baron Roy Thomson, acquires controlling interest of the Hudson's Bay Company and transforms it into Canada's largest department store chain.

1980

Oct 28 In the wake of the 160% increase in world oil prices in 1979–80, the National Energy Program (NEP) is established to achieve energy security, a redistribution of wealth towards the federal government and consumers, and a greater Canadian ownership of the oil industry. By 1984, the NEP is dismantled.

1982

The worst recession since the Great Depression hits Canada.

1983

Bell Canada restructures to become Bell Canada Enterprises Inc. (BCE), parent to over 80 companies, ranging from Trans-Canada Pipelines to Nortel Communications. By 1986, BCE is the largest company in Canada in terms of assets.

1984

Dec The Foreign Investment Review Agency's mandate is revised to actively promote Canadian and other beneficial foreign investment in Canada, provide policy advice, conduct research and analysis, and protect Canada's cultural industries. In 1985, the agency is renamed Investment Canada.

1985

May 29 Michael Cowpland founds Corel Systems Corporation (Corel Corporation as of 1992). The Canadian company pioneers graphics software with its main product line, CorelDRAW.

Canadian financier Conrad Black acquires London's *Daily Telegraph*, then buys Quebec City's *Le Soleil*, Ottawa's *Le Droit*, over 40 small U.S. newspapers, and in June 1987, *Saturday Night* magazine.

1986

The Competition Act is passed to encourage competition and efficiency within the Canadian economy by regulating such activities as mergers and price fixing.

Montreal-based Bombardier Inc. buys Canadair Ltd for $120 million.

1987

Mar CP Air amalgamates with Eastern Provincial Airways, Nordair, and Pacific Western Airlines to form Canadian Airlines International Ltd.

Oct 19 Black Monday. The stock market crashes, marking the greatest drop in share prices in the histories of the Toronto and the New York stock exchanges.

1988

Apr 1 Canadian businessman Robert Campeau pays $6.64 billion for U.S. merchandising giant Federated Department Stores, owner of New York's famed Bloomingdales. By 1990, Campeau declares bankruptcy.

Amoco Canada, a subsidiary of a Chicago-based company, swallows up beleaguered Dome Petroleum for $5.2 billion, the most expensive takeover in Canadian history.

WHAT GOES

AROUND...

▶ we reach out
and lend our support
in turn
our community becomes
a source of strength
for everyone
our efforts have come full circle

SHARING THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY

Investors Group is pleased to support Canada's National History Society as we witness the turn of a century.

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to supply the oil-rich kingdom of Saudi Arabia with equipment for its burgeoning telecommunications network, outbidding big foreign firms like ITT and Philips, and laying the groundwork for further expansion, particularly in East Asia in the 1980s.

The first moves in transforming Northern took place under the leadership of Scrivener, a long-time Bell Canada manager with a strong technical background. His successor, Jean de Grandpré, was a very different character, a high-powered Montreal lawyer and expert on regulatory law. The transfer of power in 1976 was timely, as Bell faced legal and organizational challenges resulting from its expansion. In the wake of the Saudi contract, the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission undertook to block efforts by Bell to raise domestic service rates, asserting that earnings from Northern's overseas ventures were part of Bell's overall revenues as a publicly regulated utility. De Grandpré countered this move by lobbying revisions to the federal act chartering Bell Canada so that operations not directly tied to providing telephone service in Canada could be folded into a new venture, Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE), not subject to regulatory review.

Under de Grandpré, BCE, which went into business in 1983, rapidly evolved into a conglomerate with investments in energy, real estate, publishing, and financial services, as well as communications. It absorbed eighty companies, including Trans-Canada Pipelines, remnants of Dome Petroleum, and a former Crown corporation, Teleglobe Canada. All of this expansion reflected the same preoccupation with the virtues of diversification that infected CPR and Canadian National. As the decade ended, however, the empires of other conglomerators like Robert Campeau and the Reichmanns were collapsing, and some of BCE's investments began to go sour, especially in the high-rise development market. De Grandpré stepped down in 1989.

His successors, Raymond Cyr and L.R. "Red" Wilson, set about dismantling some of the BCE empire, refocusing on telecommunications services and equipment with links to cable television and cellular communications.

Some Canadian firms have been able to hold their own on a harsh competitive playing field.

As the century ended, it could be said that Bell was returning to its roots, much like Canadian National, which was jettisoning investments unrelated to rail service. At the same time there were significant and lasting changes. The last vestiges of foreign ownership were long gone. Management, not just at BCE but in many other Canadian firms, had passed into the hands of professionals with a background in finance and investments.

Most significantly, Bell Canada was an international player, developing strategies in global markets and investments. The same can be said for each of the companies traced here. Canadian National operates in a North American framework while Bombardier has contracts and investments in the United States and Europe. In certain respects, there is nothing particularly new. In 1900 Canada was tied to international markets as a supplier of a range of raw materials, dependent on foreign capital for development. The global links today, however, are more complex and at least some of the Canadian firms, including these three, have been able to hold their own on a harsh competitive playing field.

Michael Bliss, one of Canada's foremost business historians, has identified our cold climate as a distinguishing feature to explain the special features of the country's commercial and industrial evolution. But the conquest of distance may also be seen as an equally critical element. Each of these companies emerged to meet a particularly, albeit not uniquely, Canadian challenge: the need to move people, things, and information over long distances across a sparsely settled land. Each company ultimately recognized that to be an essential part of its strategy for success. In the process, these enterprises developed capabilities that in certain respects prepared them well for the emerging environment of global business characterized by challenges of distance, cultural differences, and uncertainty. ◆

1989

Jan 1 The Free Trade Agreement with the United States begins.

1991

Jul After privatization legislation is passed in 1990, Petro-Canada completes a public offering of its shares. By 1995, the government reduces its interest in the company to 20% (subsequently diluted to 18%).

1992

Jul 2 At a news conference in St. John's, Newfoundland, fisheries minister John Crosbie announces the end of northern cod fishery, which the United Nations refers as "commercial extinction."

Olympia & York nearly collapses as a $1.6 billion London project goes bankrupt. Private investors buy back the property from the banks in 1995 and turn it into a success.

1994

Jan 1 The North American Free Trade Agreement is implemented, removing most barriers to trade and investment among Canada, U.S., and Mexico.

Nov Wal-Mart invades the Canadian retailing market, buying out 122 Woolco stores across Canada and quickly expanding to 154 stores.

1997

Mar 27 Bre-X stock plunges after revelations that the Calgary-based company orchestrated a massive stock fraud by leading investors to believe its Indonesian mine contained large amounts of gold. In fact, ore samples were only salted with gold, and the mines were virtually empty.

1998

Jan 23 The Bank of Montreal and Royal Bank of Canada announce plans to merge, creating a bank with $476 billion in assets. On Apr 17, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and Toronto Dominion announce their merger proposal, which would create a bank with assets of $460 billion. On Dec 14, the federal government vetoes both mergers.

Oct 27 Conrad Black's Hollinger Inc. releases the first issue of the *National Post*.

Revenues in Canada for e-commerce on the Internet reach $5.3 billion. A Retail Council survey indicates that Canadians spent $688 million over the 'Net in 1998, with 63% going to American websites.

CN completes the process of privatization and purchases Illinois Central Corp. for $3.6 billion, reorienting its focus from the traditional east-west to the more profitable north-south.

1999

Aug 2 Toronto Dominion announces plans to take over Canada's last independent trust company, Canada Trust, for $8 billion, making it the third largest Canadian bank.

Aug 23 The T. Eaton Company files for bankruptcy protection, ending 130 years of business in Canada.

Dec 20 Canadian National and Burlington Northern Santa Fe announce merger to form the largest freight carrier in North America, with 80,000 km of track.

JOY PARR

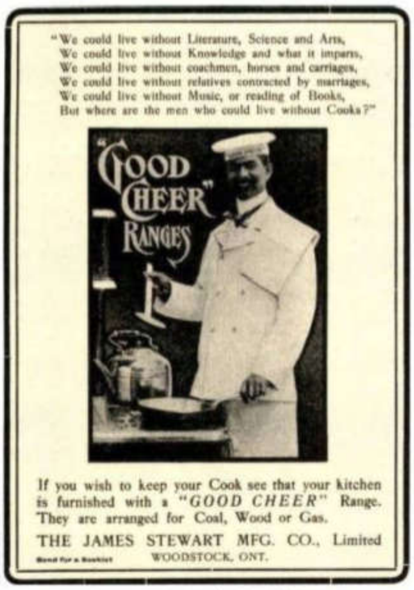
REINVENTING

Reinventing Consumption

CONSUMPTION

EVERAGES
MIXERS

At the start of the century, Canadian manufacturers produced goods for Canadian buyers. From the artisan to the assembly line, from the general store to the dot-com shopping experience, early self-sufficiency has given way to global buying and selling. Yet a practical and discriminating consumer tradition prevails.



"We could live without Literature, Science and Arts,
We could live without Knowledge and what it imparts,
We could live without coachmen, horses and carriages,
We could live without relatives contracted by marriages,
We could live without Music, or reading of Books,
But where are the men who could live without Cooks?"

"GOOD CHEER" RANGES

If you wish to keep your Cook see that your kitchen is furnished with a *"GOOD CHEER"* Range. They are arranged for Coal, Wood or Gas.

THE JAMES STEWART MFG. CO., Limited
Send for a Booklet WOODSTOCK, ONT.

BEAVER COLLECTION

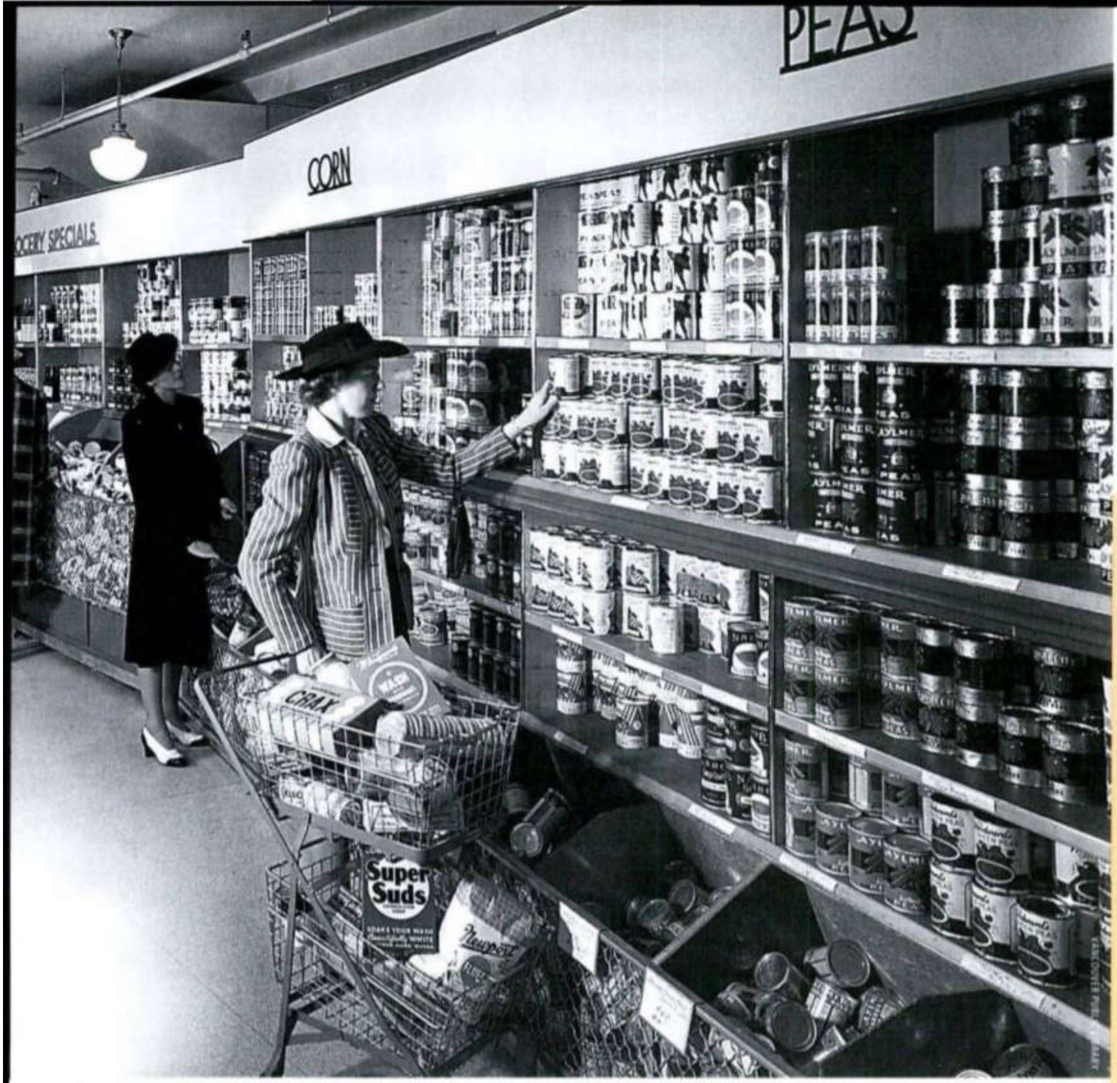
The advertisement above for Good Cheer Ranges appeared in the August 1902 issue of *Canadian Magazine*. The foundry-produced stoves were adapted for different fuel sources.

At the end of the twentieth century, Canada is a nation of consumers, dressed by the Gap and Ralph Lauren, shod by Nike and Dacks, riding about cities in a sports-utility vehicle named after the American Cherokee. Are we what we buy? Have we always been? What does our history of spending tell us about who we have been as a nation in these last hundred years and what holding common Canadian citizenship has, and can be, about?

In Laurier's time, as the century opened, Canadians refused the choice for free trade. The things Canadians consumed for their homes largely were made domestically, by family members or neighbours for exchange outside the market, or by the employees of Canadian firms. In the decade before the First World War, many of these firms, sheltered by the tariffs of the National Policy, merged. Thereafter they bore their provenance in their names – Dominion Glass, Dominion Textiles, Dominion Rubber, Canada Malting, Canada Packers, the Canada Furniture Company – producing almost exclusively for the Canadian market.

Women and men making goods for their families in their own kitchens and workshops and workers in Canadian factories alike were dependent on what we now call the global economy – for cotton and linen fibres, for many woollens, for certain metal alloys and fancy hardwoods, and for patented parts imported first from Britain and later more commonly from the United States. Thus were early twentieth-century Canadians seeking even the basics of everyday life, tied necessarily to the tastes, technologies, and investment decisions of powerful interests beyond the borders of the nation. Of course, the scale of the dependence was different then, and scale matters, especially because, in power relations, "more" rarely means "more of the same." Still plainly what made Canadians different then from now was the greater contingency of their connection to the market.

"Consume" is a word of many different inflections. It can mean merely "use." Let's begin there. Household goods have uses, some practical, some pleasurable, some both. Early in the twentieth century, a household more often than now had the tools and the skills, and thus more realistically the choice, between buying and making, between spending more money or more time, to acquire a good. This choice was, of course, constrained. Local merchants carried limited selections. This was why department-store catalogues were such a threat to Main Street retailers across the Dominion in the '20s, '30s, and '40s. Yet even hefty catalogues, directed explicitly to Canadian demands, in their own ways constricted what desires, pleasures, and uses a purchaser could fulfill. "To get the job done exactly right," as the saying goes, you must "do it yourself." In the first half of this century, many Canadians still could follow this advice, leave the confines of the market and create for themselves just the



Grocery shopping, Woodward's department store, Vancouver, 1941. Woodward's food floor was famous throughout Canada for its innovations, including in-store home economists, baby seats in the shopping carts, and a mail-order division. By the 1950s it was estimated that women did 80 percent of the nation's buying, and astute retailers responded to them as a powerful economic force.

VANCOUVER PUBLIC LIBRARY

garment or the table that, in form, scale, and material, was most pleasing and useful to them. To some greater degree than later, they could also exert local and regional influence over what Canadian manufacturers would make for Canadian merchants to sell, over the uses market goods would be designed to meet. This issue, just what was made and made available for sale, is key to understanding what consuming is for Canadians, and how it has changed over the century now closing. There always are many ways for a good to perform a function, to be useful. Who makes the choices about which possibilities will be transformed into products, and on whose criteria will this selection be made?

Consider the kitchen cookstove, an ordinary functional household good. The foundries that made stoves in the Maritimes, Ontario, and Quebec made it their business to respond to rather than redefine what households needed in a stove. Before the Second World War, stoves were tailored to meet regional differences, to burn sawdust in mill towns, and cordwood on farms, coal, kerosene or bottled gas where these were the most economical fuels locally available. Many included reservoirs that replaced waterheaters in rural areas; some were warm walled to double as space heaters; others were insulated to keep urban kitchens comfortably cool.

After the Second World War, stoves became standardized, as dual and then single oven ranges, in a rectangular metal case. The reservoirs vanished and fuel options narrowed to

1906

May 14 The Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission is established. The first nationalized electric utility in the world, it helps bring Canada out of the "century of steam" and into the "century of electricity" as electricity becomes the driving force for factory machinery.

1908

The Federal Combines Act is established to regulate mergers and agreements among competitors. It also makes misleading advertising illegal.

1910

The newly developed electric motor, a low-cost provider of mechanical power, leads to the creation of electric appliances for the average Canadian home.

1918

With half a million automobiles, Canadians are the second-largest car producers and consumers in the world.

1920

The Food and Drug Act is passed, a consumer statute intended to protect Canadians from health hazards and fraud in the sale and use of food, drugs, cosmetics, and medical devices.

1925

The age of synthetics begins when Courtaulds (Canada) Ltd. builds a plant in Cornwall, Ontario, producing the new artificial silk, viscose rayon.

1941

The Wartime Prices and Trade Board freezes prices, wages, and rents, and limits the quantity of goods available to Canadian consumers during WWII.

1942

Dupont produces the first nylon yarn in Canada for parachute cloth during WWII. After the war, it becomes accessible to the general public for the first time in nylon hosiery.

1947

Canadian Association of Consumers is established to protect consumer interests.

1948

Dec 14 The Supreme Court overturns the 1886 federal ban on margarine, but provincial governments counter with restrictions limiting the sale of margarine, which protect the butter industry at the expense of shoppers.

When a group of Canadian women organized the Canadian Association of Consumers in the 1940s, they wielded enough influence to convince the Findlay company to design a stove – the Hy-Oven – that eliminated the discomfort and indignity of stooping and bending. Within a decade, however, as mass production grew stronger, consumer influence waned.

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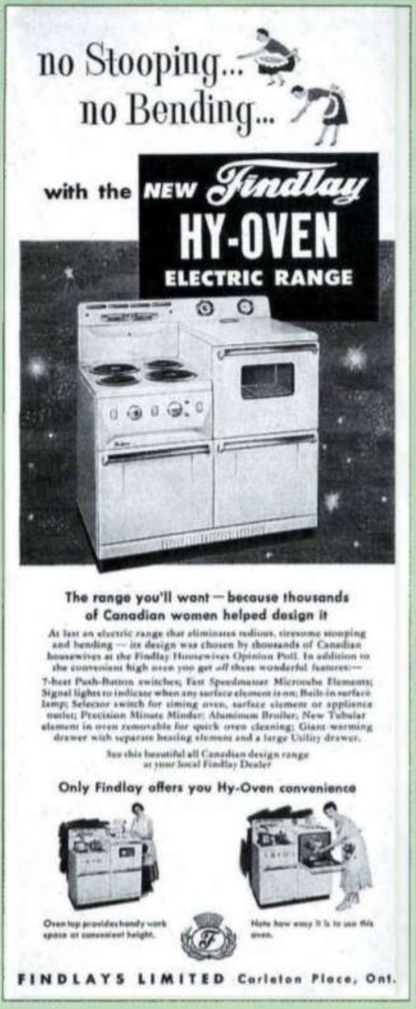


no Stooping...
no Bending...

with the NEW Findlay HY-OVEN ELECTRIC RANGE

The range you'll want — because thousands of Canadian women helped design it

At last an electric range that eliminates tedious, tiresome stooping and bending — its design was chosen by thousands of Canadian housewives at the Findlay Housewives Opinion Poll. In addition to the convenient high oven you get *all* these wonderful features:—

7-heat Push-Button switches; Fast Speedmaster Microtube Elements; Signal lights to indicate when any surface element is on; Built-in surface lamp; Selector switch for timing oven, surface element or appliance outlet; Precision Minute Minder; Aluminum Broiler; New Tubular element in oven removable for quick oven cleaning; Giant warming drawer with separate heating element and a large Utility drawer.

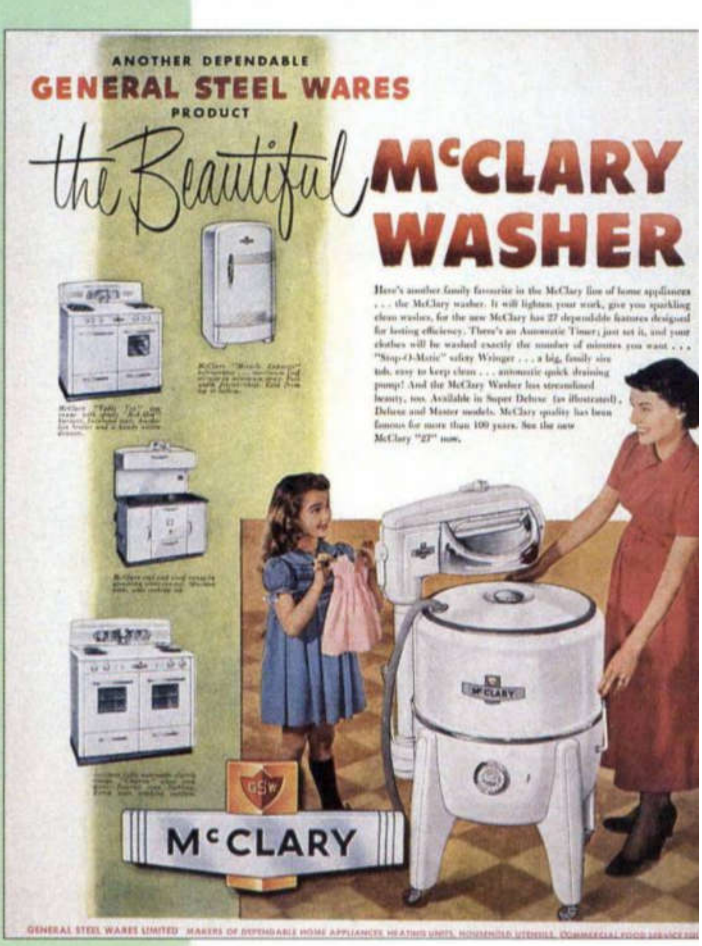
See this beautiful all Canadian design range at your local Findlay Dealer

Only Findlay offers you Hy-Oven convenience

Oven top provides handy work space at convenient height.

Note how easy it is to use this oven.

FINDLAYS LIMITED Carleton Place, Ont.



ANOTHER DEPENDABLE
GENERAL STEEL WARES
PRODUCT

the Beautiful McCLARY WASHER

Here's another family favourite in the McClary line of home appliances . . . the McClary washer. It will lighten your work, give you sparkling clean washes, for the new McClary has 27 dependable features designed for lasting efficiency. There's an Automatic Timer; just set it, and your clothes will be washed exactly the number of minutes you want . . . "Stop-O-Matic" safety Wringer . . . a big, family size tub, easy to keep clean . . . automatic quick draining pump! And the McClary Washer has streamlined beauty, too. Available in Super Deluxe (as illustrated), Deluxe and Master models. McClary quality has been famous for more than 100 years. See the new McClary "27" now.

McCLARY

GENERAL STEEL WARES LIMITED MAKERS OF DEPENDABLE HOME APPLIANCES, HEATING UNITS, HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS, COMMERCIAL FOOD SERVICE

A 1951 advertisement for McClary appliances (above, right) touted the wringer washer for its automatic features a year after automatic washers were first introduced. Like many ads of the time, this one featured generations of women together. The girl, wearing a hand-smocked dress, holds a similarly crafted doll's dress. Many women stuck to their wringer washers because they were washing clothing they had produced themselves at home and wanted to wash attentively rather than automatically. The company also took the opportunity to advertise other appliances, including its stoves: at top, a gas model; in the middle, a duel fuel coal-and-wood model; and at the bottom, an electric model. These foundry-produced stoves reflected a Canadian market which featured regional differences in availability and costs of different fuels.

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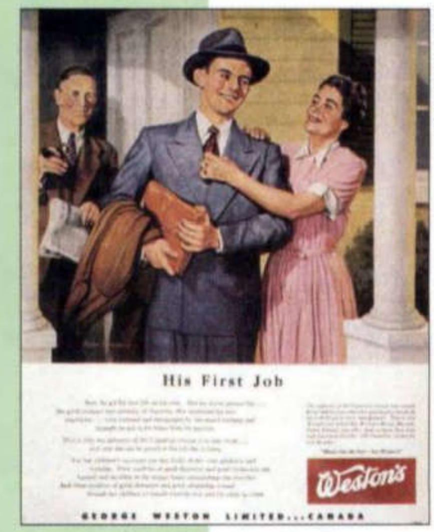


His First Job

Weston's

GEORGE WESTON LIMITED...CANADA

This institutional ad from George Weston Limited (right) appeared in women's magazines in the 1950s. Such ads reinforced and reflected the predominant values of full-time wives and mothers whose domain was the home.

In the '50s and '60s, it was also possible for Canadian consumers to "just say no" and still get their own way, successfully to practise discrimination rather than self-denial.

electricity and gas. The form was dictated by the priorities of mass production in large new factories, which were displacing smaller foundries. Where regional preferences persisted, regional users were obliged to adapt to the new models, even if these did not so well meet local needs.

The differences in priorities between producers and consumers, between makers and users, had another implication. The low-oven ranges, while easier to make, were more difficult to use. Now cooks preparing meals for large families and farm help, and baking several times each week, had to stoop to gain access to the oven. That's just how the cookie crumbles, we now might say; that's capitalism; one adapts. But in the '40s, Canadian women were more skeptical and less accepting of market forces. When they saw the new stoves on public display, they were scornful and they complained. With their sense of their own authority as users fortified by their wartime experience as retail monitors for the Canadian government, they organized as the Canadian Association of Consumers and convinced Findlays of Carleton Place to make them a user-friendly Hy-Oven stove. This was a bold and revealing experiment, a sign that Canadian consumers at that time thought of themselves as authoritative tool users in command of their work. But the Hy-Oven was also a commercial failure, for few Canadians ever found it available for sale; until wall ovens became more common a decade later, cooks adapted to the form mass-production manufacturers preferred. But happily, in the '50s and '60s, it was also possible for Canadian consumers to "just say no" and still get their own way, successfully to practise discrimination rather than self-denial.

For if "consume" means "to use," it can also mean "to accept." Just as home gardeners sow their own particular sense of beauty into their plantings, so manufacturers build cultural assumptions into the wares they design and build. Buyers (consumers) cannot readily evade those assumptions, and in using (consuming) their purchase, they accept the makers' presuppositions as part of their everyday lives. This is one sense in which we are what we buy. As an example, in the '50s there were two kinds of washers available in the North American market, wringers and automatics. From the beginning of the decade, automatics became the tool of choice in the United States, but even prosperous Canadians instead chose wringers right up until 1965. How do we account for this difference? Automatics, as their name proclaimed, demanded less labour from their users, but they consumed more water, in the early days broke down more frequently and wore out sooner. They were mass-produced goods built to be replaced at regular intervals, engineered continually to recreate their own demand rather than by one purchase to satisfy a householder's need once and for all, for a lifetime. The culture of consumption built into wringers was starkly different. These were machines built to last, easily repaired by householders themselves, frugal with water, allowing their users more control over the wash. Wringers were cheaper than automatics, and Canadians then, as now, had less disposable income than Americans, both because they earned less and because by common consent in the postwar years they were bearing a larger tax burden in order to build a more substantial welfare state. That even wealthy Canadians chose wringers, long after Americans did not, suggests that these were decisions framed, beyond the price system alone, in political, cultural, and ethical values. By preference, formed in the precarious years of depression and war, Canadians were choosing prudence over gratification. They were placing collective over individual security as they charted their way in the new and fragile peace. These values, attentive to the social implications of individual purchasing decisions, were part of the political consensus that sustained

1952

Sep The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation opens Canada's first two TV stations in Toronto and Montreal. Only 146,000 Canadians own TV sets, but by 1957 there are 44 stations and close to three million sets across Canada.

1953

Lawrence Plaza, the first indoor shopping mall in Canada, opens in Toronto.

1956

Due to the postwar economic growth, the purchasing power of the average Canadian has doubled since the Great Depression. The average wage in Canada reaches $62.40 per week (about $3,250 per year).

1963

The government gains more control over the sale of drugs under the new regulations of the Food and Drug Act.

1967

Jun The first Canadian McDonald's restaurant (and the first McDonald's outside the U.S) opens in Richmond, B.C.

The federal government creates the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs.

1968

The Chargex (Visa) credit card is introduced to Canada. Consumers can now purchase items on charge cards.

1973

The first *hypermarché* or superstore opens in Montreal. Canadian Superstore and Safeway's Food for Less soon enter the Canadian suburban retail market full force. These new food stores introduce the trend of buying in bulk.

1985

Phase three of West Edmonton Mall, the largest suburban shopping centre in Canada, is completed. Spanning 48 blocks, the mall has over 800 stores and services, 110 restaurants, and seven world attractions.

Apr 24 The Supreme Court of Canada rules the federal Lord's Day Act prohibiting shopping on Sunday is unconstitutional. This is the first step towards Sunday shopping across Canada.

1991

Jan 1 The goods and services tax (GST) comes into effect across Canada.

1994

Jan NAFTA is established and accelerates the "Americanization" of Canadian retail.

Shopping malls arrive on the Internet with on-line shopping becoming the most recent trend in Canadian consumerism.

1997

Dec 12 The Internet Advertising Bureau of Canada (IAB) is created as a national organization of Internet publishers, advertisers, and agencies. IAB is a Canadian national advocate for marketing and advertising on the Internet, bringing structure and standards to the industry.

The politics of Canadian consumption in the '50s and '60s were notably different .... If Americans marked who they were by what they could buy, Canadians chose to buy less, savouring instead their expanding entitlements to social benefits.

medicare, the Canada Pension plan, and regional income transfers. In this sense, the politics of Canadian consumption in the '50s and '60s were notably different from those made in the radical market economy of the United States, where the benefits of citizenship were more closely reckoned in the accumulation of material goods. If Americans marked who they were by what they could buy, Canadians chose to buy less, savouring instead their expanding entitlements to social benefits.

The '60s was a new era in Canadian consumption. We remember the material goods used as signs of generational resistance, young women in frayed bell-bottom jeans, young men wearing beads. But there was another generational transition afoot. The war and the Depression were stark lessons in losses, and Canadians' needs from the peace went beyond what the market alone would provide. In the '50s the generation that had married in the '30s and '40s embraced domesticity as a pleasure certainly too long deferred, and also perhaps too exquisitely imagined. Couples turned to making babies as never before in the century (this was the Baby Boom) and away from the lustre of commerce, choosing instead the emotional and material satisfactions created by wife and mother who was at home full-time. By the early 1960s, fewer new households were being formed in Canada. There were fewer preschoolers in the home, more material and occupational attractions outside it. Women reconsidered how to allocate their time. Many more wives went to work; 86 percent more in 1961 than 1951 and 59 percent more again in 1971. Having decided to work in the labour market (as well as at home), their choices about how to participate in other parts of the market changed as well. The consumption decision with which we began, between spending time and spending money, altered fundamentally. Kids and husbands may have grumbled, but consumer-goods manufacturers were gleeful.

Married women going out to work made different trade-offs between spending time and spending money, and different qualitative discriminations between "exactly right" and "good enough." Options lately judged feckless, buying an automatic washing machine or a refrigerator with large freezer to hold evening main courses prepared in advance, now made consuming sense. More households spent more money on travel and leisure goods; women baked less and sewed less, and joked with one another about letting domestic standards slide.

For makers of domestic appliances and for public utilities, working mothers were a gift beyond price. With the Trans-Canada gas pipeline, and the Columbia, Peace, and St. Lawrence hydroelectric projects complete, by the mid-60s Canada had energy in superabundance. Particularly outside industrial working hours, surplus electricity went unused for want of buyers. As rates of both immigration and marriage slackened, household-goods manufacturers who had built mass-production plants large enough to meet the peaks of postwar pent-up demand now also were able to make more than they could sell. Canadian consumption now entered a fabulous new stage. If Canadian consumers early in the century had the power to choose between making and buying the goods they wanted to use, and at mid-century had resisted goods they judged functionally or ethically unfitting, by the '60s the political terrain of Canadian consumption turned increasingly to the creating and contesting of imaginary demands, needs and desires.

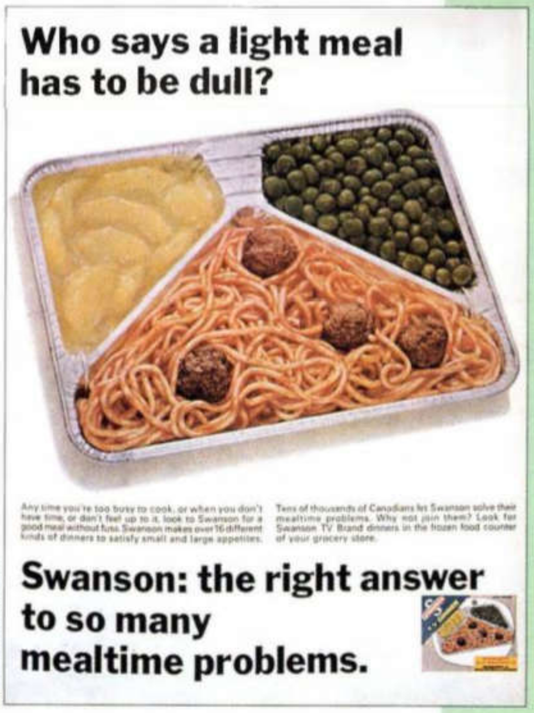
This is the transition to mass consumption. Mass consumption is twinned with mass production and came to smaller markets after it was well-established in larger domestic economies. As a commercial philosophy, it was first embraced by automobile manufacturers who in the 1920s realized that better paid workers would be more able to buy the cars made on assembly lines in Detroit and Oshawa. In addition to rising incomes, mass consumption depended upon advertising and buyers persuadable that more might be better than less. By the '60s these prerequisites were in place in Canada. Incomes were higher; memories of the Depression were fading; there were more pleasing and potentially useful things being offered for sale. Canadians began to read ads with less ironically bemused detachment, more playful, acquisitive interest. Their notions of what might be fitting expanded, perhaps first among the television-watching young, but soon among adults as well.

Makers of household equipment, long envious of automobile makers' ability to persuade their customers to trade up to the latest model each autumn, already had begun to build shorter replacement cycles into their products. Think of the comparison of the life cycles of the wringer and automatic washers we already have observed. But transient stylishness eluded appliance manufacturers until the late 1950s, when they began to create domestic appliances in strong fashion colours of gold, avocado green, turquoise, and chocolate brown, whose appeal faded more quickly than the traditional white. Refrigerators, in particular, were decked out as whimsical elements in the latest decorator fad.

The utilities' excess capacity prompted another kind of design for mass consumption, and here alliances arose between product makers and power providers. Product designers began to imagine goods that were kilowatt-hungry, which would use power prodigiously, especially at times of the day when commercial and industry demands on the system were low. Thus the '60s campaigns across the country to "live better electrically," and the many homes built to depend on baseboard and radiant heating systems fabulously inefficient by comparison with coal, oil, or gas. Gloomy and glossy ads featuring piles of wet diapers and lashings of rain appeared seasonally, to mark the passing of summer, and remind homemakers that line-drying was not quite so free as it might seem. Dryers were often sold with electric blankets as bonuses, questionable amenities thus free to possess, if not free to use, a bonus whose benefits accrued more to utilities than householders. The spirit that imbued Carnaby Street and the Swinging Sixties generally coated the whole consumer culture with a gloss of carefree experimentation and amusement. The practical reckonings, the prudent housewifery, and the commitment to the private modesty in trade for a measure of shared public abundance became less conspicuous in Canadians' reveries about their lives amidst things.

And yet, as international commentators have observed, Canadian habits of consumption remained "characteristically subdued." Coloured appliances were never the success here they were south of the border; Canadians bought dryers, but remained loyal to their clotheslines, alternating between these fuel-dependent and fuel-free technologies as time and weather permitted. In the 1970s, the Science Council of Canada reported

This 1965 advertisement for Swanson TV dinners (below) reflected a fundamental shift in how women spent their time. As women started to join the work force in larger numbers, they provided a ready market for the frozen food industry and others that could alleviate the time crunch.



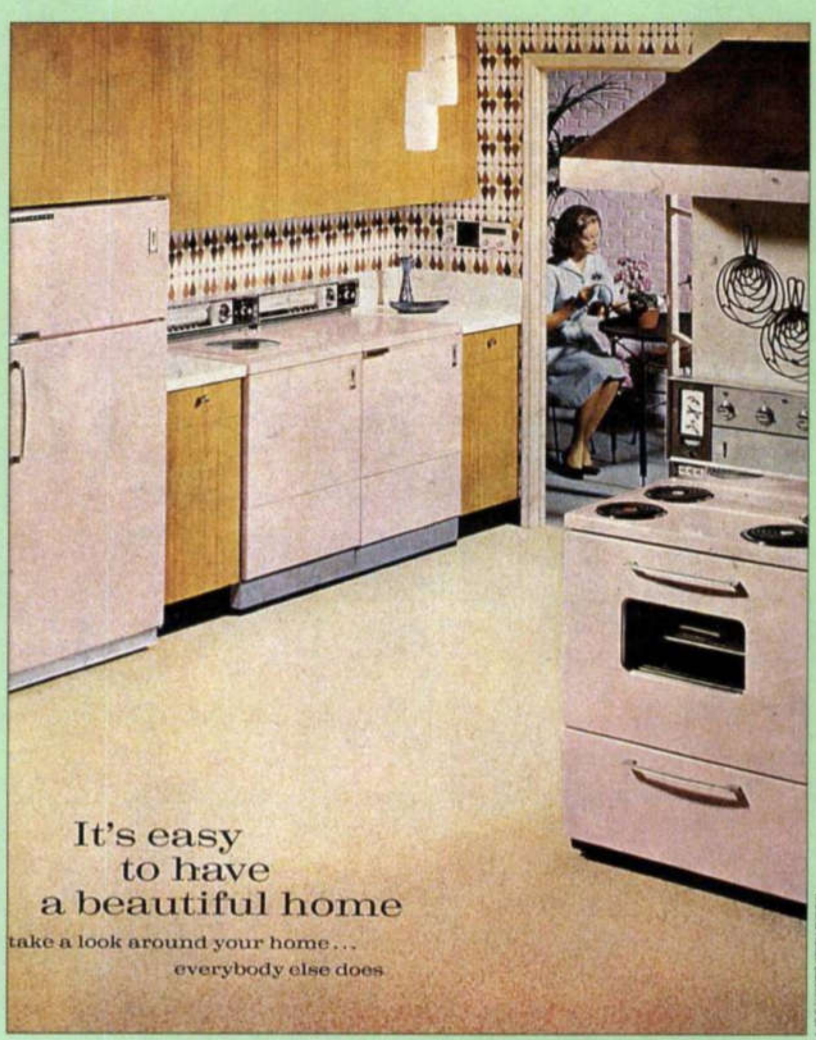
Who says a light meal has to be dull?

Any time you're too busy to cook, or when you don't have time, or don't feel up to it, look to Swanson for a good meal without fuss. Swanson makes over 16 different kinds of dinners to satisfy small and large appetites.

Tens of thousands of Canadians let Swanson solve their mealtime problems. Why not join them? Look for Swanson TV Brand dinners in the frozen food counter of your grocery store.

Swanson: the right answer to so many mealtime problems.

THOMAS FISHER LIBRARY, U OF T



It's easy
to have
a beautiful home

take a look around your home...
everybody else does

THOMAS FISHER LIBRARY, U OF T

This 1962 kitchen reflects the beginning of prosperity and the decline of the determined thrift begun in the1930s. Ads of the 1960s presented a domestic landscape that included built-in counters and a scientific management plan for placement to save steps, not to mention fashionable colours and streamlined design. Women, formerly featured prominently as users of the appliances, were now featured in the background, enjoying the luxury and leisure afforded by their new kitchens.

By the 1960s, appliances had gone beyond mere utility to embody the latest decorating fads, with a well-decorated home a sign of social status. The Pennsylvania Dutch refrigerator from Kelvinator (right) was featured at the Canadian National Exhibition along with other designer models. Short-lived fashion trends married to shorter replacement cycles had consumers trading up to newer models with greater frequency.

Kelvinator
ORIGINALS

CNE

solutions

HELPING CANADIANS BUILD

security

STRONG FINANCIAL FUTURES

strength

AND STRONG COMMUNITIES

THE
Great-West Life
ASSURANCE COMPANY

Imagine
A Caring Company

In the 1970s, … the oil crisis challenged illusions of abundance. Once again the thought became thinkable, even fashionable, that less might be better than more.

that Canadians were using twice the energy they required. Throughout the North Atlantic world, the oil crisis challenged illusions of abundance. Once again the thought became thinkable, even fashionable, that less might be better than more. The younger generation, which had imbibed the multihued pleasures of plastic excess from Saturday morning television, began to favour green over all other colours and to recruit their elders to campaign for the environment. In Canadian kitchens blue recycling boxes achieved a ubiquity avocado ranges and turquoise refrigerators had never attained. The statistics are clear. Despite appearances in parking lots outside Walmarts across the country, sports utility vehicles, no matter the First Nations name they bear, have never achieved the favour among Canadian buyers that they won, almost as quickly as automatic washers, among American buyers.

If Canadians have become a nation of consumers, our path to this predicament has been both contrary and complicated. At the beginning of the century, our forebears took pride in their household and national self-sufficiency as producers, though beyond wheat, wood, fish, and leather they were rarely independent of global suppliers for the materials they used daily. By midcentury our concerns centred on two national projects, the first to reclaim the ordinary pleasures of home life almost lost to one generation and the second to build a welfare state and an international order that would provide a more secure life for the next. Consuming then was part of an ethical and political, a redistributive, consensus, but one that made our domestic industries vulnerable to international competitors. By the '60s we seemed on top of the world. Expo '67 proclaimed Canada's many-faceted abundance and robust autonomy. But the crises of the '70s belied this. Our ties to the international economy are now more intricate than ever before, binding us with our power lines, pipelines, and fibre-optic networks to the tastes, technologies, and investment decisions our ancestors first shared more circumspectly through printed cotton and polished brass.

We know the same consumer goods as our neighbours across international borders, yet by our history and collective conviction we have given these things for sale a different place in our national imagination. The best different path is never plain; roadblocks are common though the path around can often be made more propitious than the straight route might have been. Reinventing has been our habit, and willful contrarian reinvention our tradition. Consuming comes to us with many inflections. We are as much what we buy as what we refuse and refeature. Long may we remain so. ▣

An abundance of energy in the mid-60s prompted utility companies to advertise the benefits of electricity (below). Consumers, urged to "live better electrically," entered an era of indulgent spending on domestic items designed to entertain or to make life easier.

THE SAFE, WARM WORLD OF ELECTRIC HEATING
is just one of the exciting comfort features of a Medallion all-electric home.

your hydro

THOMAS FISHER LIBRARY, U OF T

JACK GRANATSTEIN

Canada was shaped by a century of war. Colonial ties bound us to two wars in Europe, but war in Europe loosened those ties. Canada matured under fire, but suffered bitter internal division over conscription. Said to be an unmilitary people, Canadians have proved excellent fighters, but, with each war's end, have quickly consigned the military to the wings. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, Canadians took peacekeeping to heart, but worried over being instruments of foreign policy not our own. Canadians' attitude toward its military? Complex and contradictory.

1

Joining Forces

At the turn of the century, Canadians were far removed from the idea of war. Yes, seven thousand Canadians had gone or would go to the Boer War, but eighty-five years had passed since the end of the War of 1812, the last serious invasion of British North America, and thirty-five years since the Fenian Raids. There had been occasional war scares from the United States, but the world and Canada basked in the certainty of continued progress.

In such circumstances, Canada's military scarcely existed. There was no navy and, naturally, no air force as yet. The permanent force, the regular army, with about a thousand men all ranks, was tiny, almost completely untrained, and hopelessly ill-equipped. The militia numbered some forty thousand, but it was even less well trained and equipped than the regulars.

Canada needed nothing more to protect it, or so virtually all Canadians agreed. The Royal Navy ruled the waves, and the "militia myth"–that every Canadian was a natural soldier who would rally to the defence of the nation if needed–was powerful. Who needed professional soldiers? They were parasitic layabouts, expensive, and not as good as volunteer militiamen.

South Africa should have put paid to such twaddle, and to some extent it did for those with eyes to see. The war revealed the need for good training and support services, such as medical, service, and intelligence corps. It demonstrated that Canadians could be excellent soldiers if they had good commanders and received hard training, and it showed that the British were not immune to major defeats at the hands of Boer farmers protecting their homes. The lessons were real, and the War Office absorbed them just as much as did the Militia and Defence Department in Ottawa. But Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government realized that nationalism demanded the chief of the general staff be Canadian

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-022995

Canadian troops returning from Europe aboard HMT *Olympic* at Halifax, 1919. In the wake of war, Canada reverted to a familiar military policy of a partly trained militia, inadequately equipped and lacking in modern arms.

and the prevailing system of a British-appointed general officer commanding the militia be ended. The remaining British garrisons in Canada were sent home in 1905, to be replaced by a three-thousand-strong permanent force and a defence budget in 1907 of $6.9 million.

Nationalism was not the sole guiding principal. When German naval expansion began to threaten the Royal Navy's supremacy at sea, Canadian imperialists began pressing for a contribution to the Royal Navy. The Laurier government's response in 1910, however, was to create a Royal Canadian Navy, something that left imperialists unsatisfied and provoked *nationaliste* French Canadians, who feared that a navy would always be sent to fight in Britain's wars. The 1911 election replaced Laurier with Robert Borden's Conservatives, and soon an offer of $35 million to build three dreadnaughts – a huge sum in those days when total federal expenditure approximated $100 million a year – went forth to Britain. This offer, though squelched by the Liberal-dominated Senate, marked the beginning of Canada's shift from being a beneficiary of Britain's protection to being a contributor to her defence. But the tiny Canadian navy, never taken seriously by the Tories, languished. Its contribution to the coming war was small.

The outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914 changed everything for the army, however. As a colony, Canada was bound by a British declaration of war, the sole autonomous decision being Ottawa's right to decide how and how much it would contribute. The militia was hastily mobilized at a new camp constructed at Valcartier, Quebec. In October 1914, the First Canadian Division of the Canadian Expeditionary Force went to England for training. In February 1915 the force was in France. The Canadians quickly plunged into the hell of the second battle of Ypres, in Belgium, and faced a gas attack and casualties that were literally inconceivable in those still naive days. Recruiting at home stepped up the pace and the Second, Third, and Fourth Divisions made their way

CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES

1902

The Boer War ends. In total, Canada sends 8,900 troops to battle for the British Empire in South Africa, of whom 270 die, half of disease.

1905

Jul 1 The Canadian military take over two British fortresses at Halifax and Esquimalt as British forces return to Europe to focus on home waters and the growing German power.

1909

At an imperial (defence) conference, Canada agrees to standardize military organization and equipment on British models and to accept imperial general staff officers.

1910

May 4 The Naval Service Act creates the Royal Canadian Navy.

1914

Aug 1 Canada automatically enters WW I when Britain declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.

1915

Apr Canada fights its first major battle of WWI at Ypres in France. Armed with defective Canadian-made Ross rifles, soldiers suffer 6,714 casualties.

1916

Jul 1 On the disastrous first day in a battle of the Somme, the 1st Newfoundland Regiment is completely annihilated. On Aug 30, Canadians enter the battle and make limited gains, though at high cost.

1917

Apr 9 After five days of attack, four Canadian divisions and one British brigade capture Vimy Ridge, near Arras, France. Canada's most celebrated battle in WWI, it is the first time all four Canadian divisions fight together – a turning point that proves Canada's strength and independence. With 10,602 casualties (3,589 of them fatal), Canadian losses are heavy.

Jun 2 William Avery "Billy" Bishop is awarded the Victoria Cross. He is the most successful Canadian airman in the Royal Flying Corps, shooting down 72 enemy aircraft.

Aug 29 The Military Service Act introduces conscription. All male British subjects up to age 45, with a few exceptions, are liable for active military service.

Oct 26 Canadian Lt-Gen Sir Arthur Currie is ordered to finish the disastrous British offensive at Passchendaele in Belgium. By Nov 30, the Canadians are victorious on the battlefield, but the toll is heavy – over 15,000 are dead or wounded.

1918

Mar 28 Anticonscription riots erupt over the Easter weekend in Quebec City. Troops are called in and four civilians are killed.

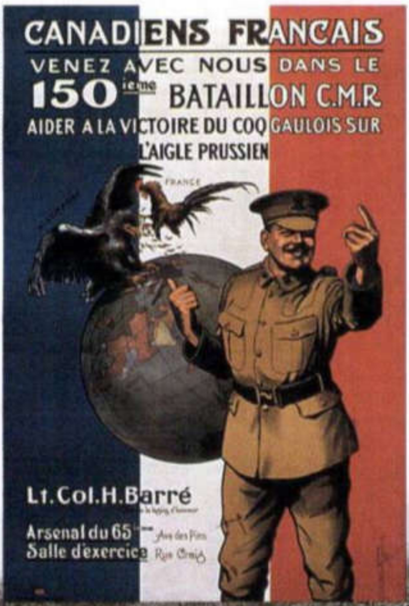
Apr 21 Canadian airman Roy A. Brown shoots down German's top flying ace, the "Red Baron."

Aug 8 The Canadian Corps attacks Amiens, France to begin what will be called "Canada's Hundred Days" until the end of the war. The attack breaks the German line.

to France by late 1916 while the Fifth Division trained in England. Under British command initially, the First Division became a corps, and by the late winter of 1916–17, after hard battles on the Somme, the corps had begun to achieve a reputation for toughness, tactical innovation, and careful preparation. The taking of Vimy Ridge on Easter Monday was the culmination of the long process of turning a volunteer and amateur army into a thoroughly professional one, an army that had learned its trade in action and become a genuine meritocracy. When Lieutenant-General Sir Julian Byng, the corps commander, won promotion in June 1917, it was only natural that the First Division commander, the Canadian-born Arthur Currie, should take his place.

A Victoria land speculator and militia officer, Currie had learned his trade in battle. Less hidebound than regular soldiers, he continuously sought ways to overcome the problems of trench warfare, something that became very apparent during the Hundred Days (from August 8 to November 11, 1918) that marked the corps' greatest victories and heaviest casualties. Careful briefings of all ranks, the avoidance of German strongpoints in the attack, and the use of surprise and rolling barrages of artillery all went into the mix that made the Canadian Corps a fiercesome instrument of war and the embodiment of English Canadian nationalism.

English Canadian nationalism alone, because Québécois, with weaker sentiments toward Britain and the Empire, failed to enlist in large numbers. Only fifteen thousand to fifty thousand French-speaking Canadians joined up (the numbers were carefully fudged and hidden by the government) out of 620,000 total enlistments, and there was only one wholly francophone battalion – the 22^{e} – with the Canadian Corps. The bitterness in English Canada towards Quebec's "slackers" was palpable as casualties began to outpace recruitment, and the conscription crisis, when it exploded in the spring of 1917, instantly became a French-English issue.



CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM / 95-00372

At first, Canadians were united over the war that began August 4, 1914 when Britain's ultimatum to Germany expired. The cheering was as loud in Montreal as it was in Toronto. But as the war everyone confidently believed would end by the first Christmas degenerated into stalemate, voluntary recruitment dwindled. French Canadians in particular were disaffected by the European conflict. Posters such as the one at left pitched the war to French Canadians by glorifying France's role, but few French Canadians felt as warmly toward France as English Canadians felt toward Britain and the Empire. When Prime Minister Robert Borden introduced conscription in May, 1917, the issue bitterly divided the country along French-English lines. The Canadian Expeditionary Force had a hundred thousand conscripts by late 1918, but most were spared the horror of the trenches. The war ended November 11 that year.

WILLIAM JAMES / CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

But would he ever see her again? One in seven Canadian soldiers who served overseas in World War I never returned home.

Trench warfare became the hallmark of the First World War. The introduction of rapid-firing small arms and artillery made the infantry charges of earlier wars nearly impossible. By Christmas 1914, an unbroken line of trenches fronted by barbed wire stretched from the English Channel to the Swiss frontier. The war became immobile. For soldiers, it was life lived largely below ground, in darkness, snow, rain, sleet, and endless mud.

CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES / GR.WAR.P-18, MIL.N.215

The question of compulsory service pitted Sir Robert Borden against Laurier and Quebec. Borden's victory in the election of December 1917 settled the question, but the subsequent military implementation of conscription was badly bungled and a source of public contention. Exemptions from military service could be secured at will or denied at whim, and virtually all men, French- or English-speaking (99 percent in Quebec, 95 percent in Ontario, for example), sought to avoid the draft. The adventurous and patriotic had enlisted early; the fearful and those who read the casualty lists and those with dependents remained at home, desperate to avoid the horror of the trenches. Nonetheless, by late 1918, the Canadian Expeditionary Force had a hundred thousand conscripts in France or England or finishing training in Canada. That the war ended on November 11, that few conscripts made it to the trenches, did not take away from the fact that, had the war continued, conscripts would have reinforced the corps.

The casualty toll was terrible: 59,544 soldiers were killed in action or died of wounds (including 21 nursing sisters), while 172,950 were wounded and a further 2,084 taken prisoner. More than one in three of all who enlisted were casualties.

There had been heavy casualties in the air, as well, with 1,563 Canadians being killed. This new form of warfare proved one to which Canadians were attracted, more than twenty-four thousand joining the Royal Flying Corps or the Royal Naval Air Service. Canadian aces and Victoria Cross winners like Billy Bishop and Billy Barker became famous around the Empire, greatly admired for their deadly shooting and courage. The country's air record guaranteed that Canada would have a tiny permanent and reserve air force in peacetime, even though most of its effort was devoted to aerial mapping. Bush pilots in uniform, the cynical jeered.

The postwar Royal Canadian Navy, too, was tiny; few men, fewer ships, few roles. There were occasional excursions to Latin America in support of broadly defined Canadian interests, minor sea exercises, and the seconding of officers to the Royal Navy for training, but the RCN was becalmed in a backwater for the two decades after the 1918 armistice.

The same had to be said for the army. The memory of Vimy and the Canadian Corps was cherished by veterans, their relatives, and historians, but for most Canadians and their government, the war was an aberration, something to be forgotten as quickly as possible. The permanent force was so small, underfunded, ill-equipped, and untrained as to be a joke. Still, some officers of talent remained, and the Royal Military College in Kingston produced a class each year that fed the permanent force and the militia, but at least half the officer corps was either too old or too ill for active service by the late 1930s. The nonpermanent active militia, nominally fifty thousand strong, was worse still.

This was the situation when war came in September 1939. This time Canada declared war on its own, the sole nation in the Western Hemisphere to do so. The government of Mackenzie King hoped to make the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan its major contribution, firm in the belief that the Royal Canadian Air Force could never generate enough aircraft or casualties to lead to a demand for conscription – something to be avoided at all cost. But the new war reawakened public memories of the Canadian Corps and Vimy and forced King's hand. The government felt obliged to offer a division for overseas service.

This time, the permanent force officers took charge, putting their staff-trained comrades into the key positions. The commander of the First Canadian Division, General Andrew McNaughton, had made his reputation in France and Flanders as a scientific gunner, and he had been chief of the general staff from 1929 to 1935. McNaughton was a charismatic figure, but he was a flawed commander who failed to stress training sufficiently.

The course of the war demonstrated that training was critical. The German enemy used tanks and aircraft in terrifying new ways, its soldiers fought superbly and demonstrated initiative in action, and the Allies faced defeat by June 1940. The Canadian answer was

Nov 11 The Armistice with Germany ends WWI. Of 628,462 Canadians mobilized, 424,589 serve overseas. Of these, 59,544 are killed; many more are permanently injured.

1919

Jun 28 The Treaty of Versailles is signed at the Paris Peace Conference. Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden leads a successful fight to ensure that Canada and the other dominions of the British Empire each have independent representation at the conference.

1923

Jan 1 The departments of Naval Services and Militia and Defence and the Air Board amalgamate to form the Department of National Defence (DND).

The Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR) is formed to sustain a national navy during peacetime.

1924

Apr 1 The Royal Canadian Air Force is established as a permanent force.

1939

Sep 10 Canada officially declares war on Germany in response to Hitler's Sept 1 invasion of Poland.

1940

Jun The National Resources Mobilization Act is passed, introducing conscription for military service within Canada.

1941

Dec 7 Canada declares war on Japan, following the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbour and the Philippines. On Dec 18, the Japanese attack Hong Kong, which surrenders Christmas Day.

1942

Aug 19 The Allies launch a large-scale – but disastrous – amphibious assault at the French port of Dieppe against Hitler's continental fortress. Among the 5,000 Canadian soldiers involved, 900 are killed and 1,874 taken prisoner.

1943

Jul 10 The Canadian 1st Infantry Division and the 1st Tank Brigade take part in the invasion of Sicily.

Dec 20 Canadian forces attack Ortona, Italy; the Germans withdraw Dec 27.

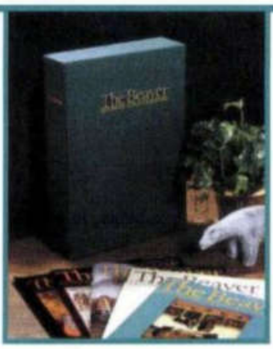
1944

Jun 6 D-Day. Allied forces, including the 3rd Canadian Division and 2nd and 3rd Armoured Brigades, land on the Normandy beaches in Operation Overlord.

Aug 17 The Canadian army takes Falaise and the battle of Normandy is won, at a cost of 5,000 Canadian dead.

Nov The National Resources Mobilization Act is amended to allow conscription for overseas service, sending some 2,500 conscripts into battle.

The Department of Veterans Affairs is established to develop a rehabilitation and reestablishment program for WWII veterans, and be responsible for administering pensions and benefits for Canada's servicemen and women.



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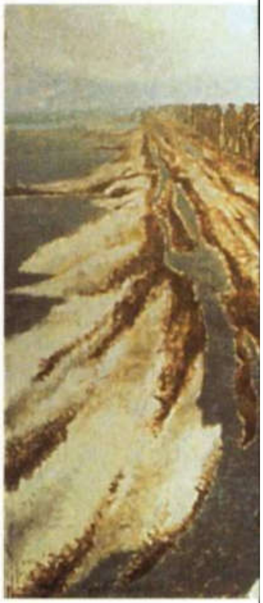
Following the Allied victory, the Canadian armed forces, exactly as they had after 1918, again sank back into torpor and disillusionment.

home defence conscription, the first bite at the cherry of compulsory service, and a gradual buildup of overseas strength. By late 1942 Canada had five divisions and two additional armoured brigades overseas, but it was mid-1943 before any saw sustained action. Troops had been dispatched to Hong Kong in December 1941 and Dieppe in August 1942, but the two expeditions had proven disastrous to Canadian arms.

Meanwhile, the RCAF and RCN carried the Canadian effort. Fighter pilots and bomber crews tested themselves against the Luftwaffe and ack-ack, their strength rising dramatically as two hundred and fifty thousand Canadian air and ground crew served in every theatre, many in Royal Air Force squadrons. In all, more than seventeen thousand died, a huge toll. At sea the navy learned its complex tasks in action against German U-boats, and it was a hard struggle. Not until mid-1943, when it received better equipment and training, did the corvette navy finally gain the upper hand.

The same was true on land. In Sicily and Italy the First Division developed into a superb fighting machine, something demonstrated irrefutably at the "little Stalingrad" of Ortona in December 1943, in which the nearly impregnable Adriatic seaport was taken from the German forces after nearly a month of fierce fighting. The Fifth Canadian Armoured Division, led by the British Columbia militiaman, Bert Hoffmeister, arguably turned itself into the best fighting division of the war, the key to the breaking of the Hitler and Gothic Lines. The First Canadian Army landed in Normandy from England in June 1944 and played a key role in cracking the Nazis at Falaise, in the Channel ports, along the Scheldt, in the Netherlands and the Rhineland. When joined by the divisions from Italy in early 1945, First Canadian Army was the largest, best equipped Canadian force ever to take the field and an astonishing contribution from a nation of just above ten million. As in 1914–1918, the army had made itself into a professional force in battle, a truly meritocratic military.



Infantry, near Nijmegen, Holland by Alex Colville

During the Second World War, over a million Canadian men and women served full-time in the army, navy, and air force. Forty-two thousand lost their lives.

Following the Allied victory, the Canadian armed forces, exactly as they had after 1918, again sank back into torpor and disillusionment. Demobilization and cost-cutting proceeded apace and by 1948, the nation's small military was again equipped only with obsolescent weaponry. There were few jet fighters, for example, and the army's tactics had yet to come to grips with the advent of atomic weapons. The coming of the Cold War and the Korean "police action" changed all this. Calling on Second World War vets to reenlist, pouring money into arms and training, for the first time in its history, Canada fielded capable and professional armed forces in peacetime. A brigade went to Korea and another to Germany for service with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The RCAF provided an air division of fighters for NATO and more squadrons for home defence, the latter by 1957 in an alliance (NORAD) with the United States Air Force. The Canadian navy became the most expert practitioners of antisubmarine warfare at sea, and gradually, as it trained with the United States Navy at home and in NATO, it began to move away from its British roots. In fact, the two decades after the end of the war marked the Canadian Forces' conversion from a military that instinctively looked to Britain for its models to one that looked south. The army, protected by its system of regiments and corps, resisted

longest but the process of integration and unification that tormented the Canadian Forces through the 1960s (and put all into green uniforms) broke most of its defences. So too did the simple fact that the U.S. forces (despite their troubles in Vietnam) became *the* model to emulate in terms of equipment, training, and professionalism.

The heyday of Canadian postwar military professionalism, the time when the armed forces had both the modern equipment and full confidence in their ability to meet the commitments their government had assumed, lasted only from the 1950s to the mid-1960s when the Cold War was at its height. Thereafter, the struggle was to survive in the face of government indifference or outright hostility, budget-driven cutbacks, and latent anti-Americanism among key sectors of the intelligentsia and media. In 1969, the government of Pierre Trudeau reduced Canada's NATO commitment, and by 1999, the Canadian Force's numbers, close to one hundred thousand thirty years earlier, had declined to just sixty thousand. The CF reserve forces, with the exception of the naval reserve, were also small and sorely troubled, with up to 25 percent turnover each year and with generally ill-defined roles other than to augment understrength regular units. There was not even a mobilization plan to deal with situations that might arise.

The key point, however, was what the Canadian Forces were to do: what roles remained once the NATO commitment diminished? Peacekeeping was the only military task always favoured by government, opposition, and public; and peacekeeping, initially scorned by the military as a diversion of scarce resources from the essential task of facing the Soviets in Central Europe, gradually became the key to the CF's survival. From the Suez Crisis in 1956 through the Congo, Cyprus, Yemen, and a half-dozen Middle East operations, Canada turned itself into the United Nations' choreboy. To the public, dazzled by Lester Pearson's 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for his role in creating the UN Emergency Force that froze the Israeli-Egypt border for a decade, Canadians were natural peacekeepers. What few noticed was that Canada acted as a Western surrogate – in the International Control Commissions in Vietnam, in the Congo, and in Cyprus. Frequently, Canadians had to call on U.S. resources to fly troops and heavy equipment to trouble spots. Peacekeeping, in other words, was frequently less a symbol of independence from the U.S. than of willing dependence on the Americans and a commitment to Washington's assessment of situations.

As fate would have it, peacekeeping also turned out to be the proximate cause of the Canadian Force's near-death experience in the 1990s. The end of the Cold War let loose nationalisms around the globe and the number of peacekeeping operations ballooned. For a shrinking, underfunded military, one overextended on far too many missions, the events in Somalia had a character of inevitability about them. The murder of Somalis by apparently undisciplined Canadian airborne soldiers, the cover-up of these events in theatre and in Ottawa, and the subsequent revelations of these events left the Canadian Forces traumatized. Officers dissembled under oath, the flood of brown envelopes to the media never ceased, and the ethical foundation of the Canadian Forces seemed to have

The end of the Cold War let loose nationalisms around the globe and the number of peacekeeping operations ballooned.

1945

May 5 Canadians liberate western Holland and the Germans surrender in Netherlands.

May 8 V-E Day. Germany surrenders and the war in Europe ends.

Sep 2 Japan formally surrenders after two atomic bomb attacks, and WWII ends. Nearly 80,000 Canadians serve in the Pacific theatre. Altogether, 1,086,771 Canadians serve in the armed forces; 41,992 die.

1947

Feb 13 Canada agrees to adopt American weapons and equipment, training methods, tactical doctrines, and communications for its military.

1949

Apr 1 Canada is among the founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) established for mutual defence in the event of a Soviet attack.

1950

Jun 25 The Korean War begins. On June 30, Canada sends three destroyers to join the United Nations forces. On July 19, it sends an air-transport squadron.

1951

Feb The Canadian government commits 12 fighter squadrons to Europe as part of its NATO involvement.

Apr Canadian troops defend Kapyong Valley in Korea against Chinese attack. The Princess Patricia Canadian Light Infantry is awarded a U.S. Presidential Citation for its efforts, the first to a Canadian unit.

1953

Jul 27 The Korean War ends. Of 26,665 Canadians who serve, 314 are killed and 1,211 are wounded. From the end of the war until Nov 8, 1954, another 7,000 Canadians serve in Korea as part of the UN forces.

1954

Aug Canada sends observers to Indochina, marking the country's first peacekeeping mission independent of the UN.

1956

Nov 6 The UN adopts Lester Pearson's plan for a special police force to control the Suez Crisis. On Nov 24, the first 20 Canadian peacekeeping troops arrive in Egypt.

1957

Jul 31 The Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line of radar stations begins operation as a joint U.S.-Canada defence project.

Aug 1 The North American Air Defence Agreement is announced.

1967

Apr 25 Parliament passes the Canadian Forces Reorganization Bill and on Feb 1, 1968, the Canadian Armed Forces is created, unifying the navy, army, and air force.

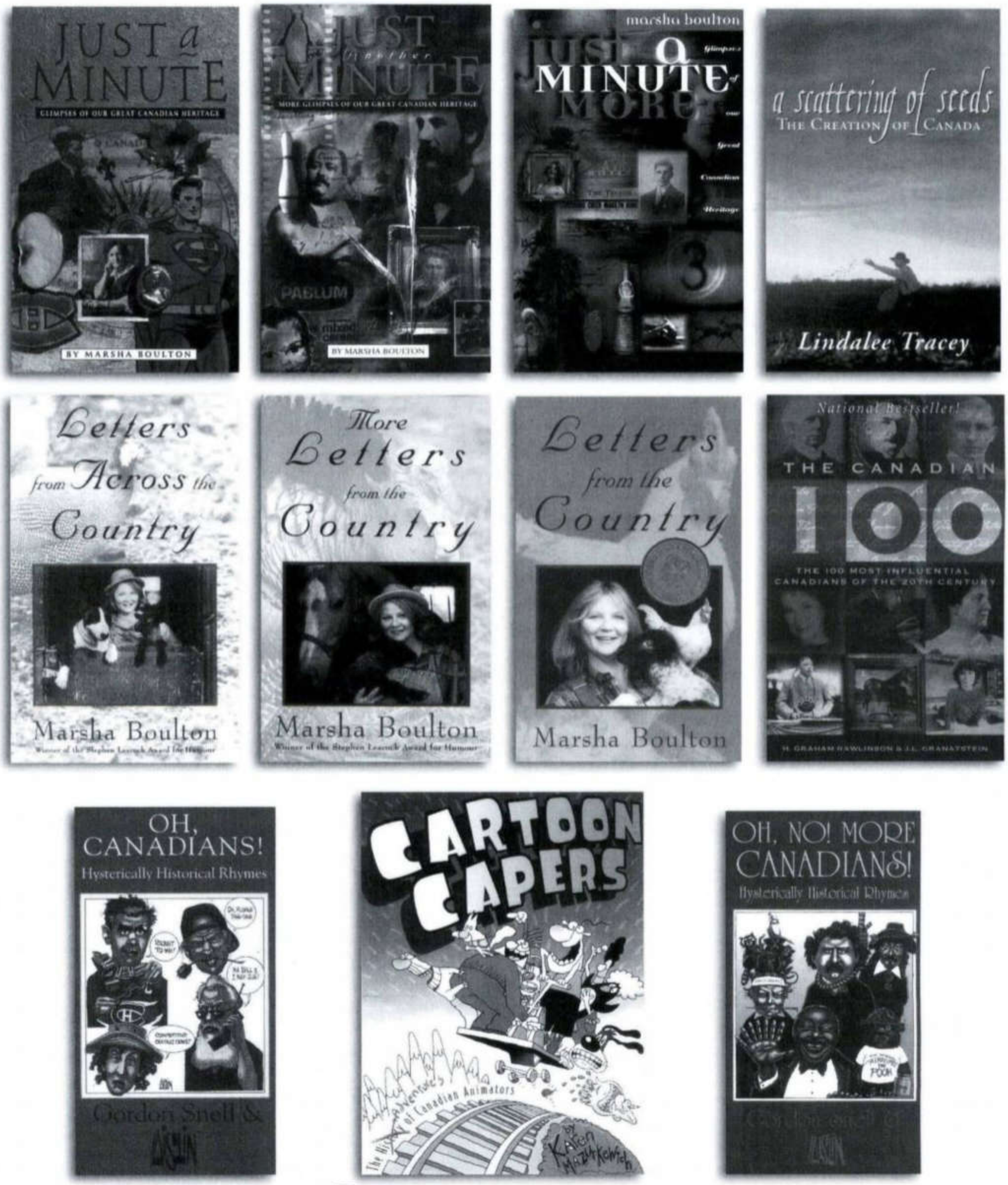
1968

In an attempt to make the armed forces bilingual and bicultural, new French language units are created.

1969

Jun 23 The government cuts Canada's NATO contribution of 10,000 troops in half and moves it to south Germany under American auspices, thus breaking the last British link.

Nothing but the Best!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CP PICTURE ARCHIVE / SHANEY KOMULAINEN

Canadian soldier Patrick Cloutier and Mohawk warrior Ronald Cross (left) come face to face in the tense 1990 standoff at the Kahnesatake reserve at Oka, west of Montreal. The standoff began when police tried to storm a barricade erected by the Mohawk Warriors Society to block the expansion of a golf course onto land claimed by the Mohawk. After a two-month-long siege, the protesters surrendered to members of the Canadian Forces.

Nationalism and attendant conflict grew with the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, and Canadian peacekeeping forces were asked to intercede with greater frequency – in Somalia, in the former Yugoslavia, and, as the century drew to a close, in East Timor, where pro-Indonesian forces rampaged after the East Timorese voted in an a U.N.-sponsored referendum August 30, 1999 to break away from Indonesia. Near year's end, over six hundred Canadian troops, including Pte. Pascal Herbert of the Royal 22nd Regiment (above), had taken up duties as part of a U.N.-backed, Australian-led peacekeeping force.

CP PICTURE ARCHIVE / JEFF MCINTOSH

In the postwar period, the Canadian Armed Forces have proved as valuable in crises at home as they have abroad, as in the case of the 1997 flooding of the Red River, pitching in with sandbagging.

dissolved under the weight of lies. Public support for the Forces wavered but eventually steadied; government support, as yet, has never quite recovered.

What held the military together and began to win back the politicians was the Force's role at home. The militia historically had played a role as the defenders of order against labour and political unrest. In the years after 1970, the army in particular served the government's purposes during the FLQ crisis of 1970, at Oka in 1990, and in dealing with floods at Saguenay and Winnipeg and with ice storms in Quebec and Ontario. In the last resort, a well-trained, disciplined force proved invaluable in crises at home – and abroad.

But training and equipment cost money, and money for defence has never seemed to make much sense to peacetime Canadians (although the Minister of National Defence in 1997 did announce that stable, predictable funding for the Canadian Forces was government policy). The professionalism of the Great War and the Second World War was learned in battle and paid for in blood. The professionalism of the NATO years was learned through hard training. Now with Canadian troops out of NATO Europe, with re-equipment progressing slowly, and with Canadians convinced – despite ample evidence to the contrary – that peace is a normal condition, the Canadian Forces are at a crossroads. Is it to be the decay of the pre-1914 and pre-1939 years? Or is it to be the professionalism of the 1950s? Only the rash would suggest anything but the former. If so, at some point, the cost of learning about war again would have to be paid in blood, and no Canadian should believe that war has been abolished from the lexicon of international relations. ☒

1970

Oct 16 During the October Crisis, Trudeau becomes the first prime minister to proclaim the War Measures Act during peacetime. More than 10,000 troops are deployed in Montreal, Quebec City, and Ottawa.

Removing the Honest John missile, acquired in 1961, from the Canadian weapon inventory, Canada renounces nuclear armaments.

1989

Women are legally allowed to integrate into all military occupations and roles (excluding service in submarines), thus creating mixed-gender units.

1990

Jul 11 After violence erupts between Quebec police and Mohawks near Oka, Quebec over disputed land claims, more than 2,600 soldiers are mobilized. The Oka crisis ends Sep 26.

1991

Jan 15 The Gulf War erupts in the wake of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The UN-backed coalition attacks Iraqi forces on Jan 16. In total, 4,500 Canadians serve in the Gulf War.

1993

Mar 16 Members of the elite Canadian Airborne Regiment beat and torture a 16-year-old Somali, then pose with the corpse for a photograph. The government calls for an inquiry into this and other incidents.

1994

To meet federal budgets, a Defence White Paper introduces cost-cutting targets for the military. By 1999, military staff are to number 60,000 (compared to 80,000 in 1989) and civilian personnel are to number 20,000 (compared to 30,000).

1996

Dec Canada agrees to take part in NATO's stabilization force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. By Aug 1999, there are 1,285 Canadian peacekeepers involved in the operation – the largest peacekeeping commitment in Canadian history.

1997

May 12 Manitobans salute the military for its efforts in "Operation Noah," in which 8,600 troops participate in flood relief, the largest military operation since the Korean War and the biggest in peacetime.

Jul 2 The Somalia Commission releases its final report, citing poor leadership and a military cover-up. Senior defence officials involved in the scandal resign.

1998

Jun 9 The first DND/CF ombudsman is appointed to investigate complaints against the military.

1999

Mar 24 NATO begin air operations in the former Yugoslavia. In Apr, Canada agrees to dispatch soldiers to the Balkans to join the 12,000 NATO troops. On Jun 20, the air campaign is over, and by Aug, 1,300 Canadian peacekeepers are stationed in Kosovo and Macedonia.

Oct 20 Canada sends a contingent of 100 air force personnel to East Timor as part of a U.N. peacekeeping mission.

CHRISTOPHER MOORE

Historians

Canada's historians have not only documented the facts of our past, but interpreted them with unique insight. From the nationalistic solace of the early years, to the sweep of Creighton's Laurentian world, we find ourselves at the end of the century with more history-making than ever before. But with so much diversity, have we forfeited a unifying vision?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Interpreting History

Our history in 1900: George Wrong

George MacKinnon Wrong, English Canada's leading historian in 1900, took snuff, not because he liked it, but because he liked the social implications of it. He was a fastidious dresser, kept a good table. He had married into the socially impeccable Blakes of Toronto. He was an ordained Anglican minister who doubted that the soul could be harmed by too much luxury. His History Club met in the homes of his wealthy and influential friends, and it taught promising students that a command of history could go hand in hand with power itself. Wrong is often said to have founded the historical profession in Canada.

George Wrong ran the history department of the University of Toronto from its foundation (the first in English Canada) in 1894 until 1927. For a long time, everyone he hired came from Balliol College, Oxford. "What I want is a scholar and a gentleman, and if he knows any history, so much the better," he said. "I am afraid we are still a crude people."

George Wrong actually knew more about those crude people than his demeanour suggested. His parents and grandparents had been not-very-successful farmers in hardscrabble Elgin County, Ontario. His own college degree was from a low-church theological school, and he was never more than a summer visitor at his beloved Oxford. But Wrong's talents, work habits (he liked to rise early and get a day's work done before breakfast), and sense of God-given destiny, had carried him so far. He loved the country in which such things were possible.

For all his Anglophilia, Wrong was a proud, confident Canadian. He thrived in a time when a well-placed, forward-thinking Torontonian could see Canada shedding its

George MacKinnon Wrong, 1895: the greatest empire the world had ever seen

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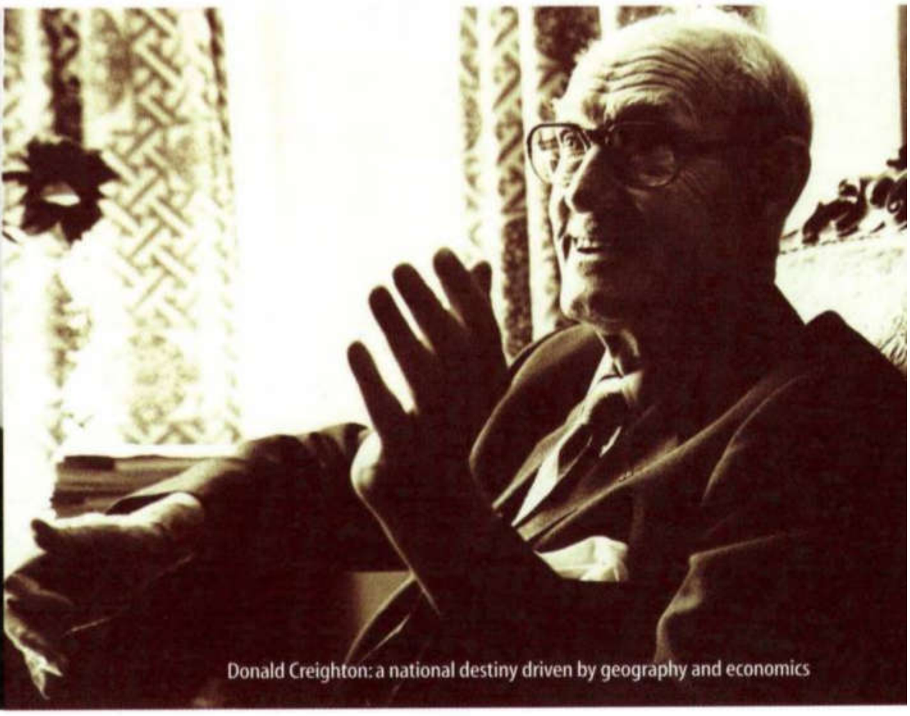


Donald Creighton: a national destiny driven by geography and economics frontier crudity as it produced more men like him. He saw Canada taking its place in running the greatest empire the world had ever seen, and his satisfaction showed in his histories.

French-English relations? Wrong, who summered at the Blakes' country place at La Malbaie, Quebec, wrote a local history, *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs*, and two volumes on *The Rise and Fall of New France*. He loved and valued French Canada and gave it an important place in his Canada, though mostly for the way its ancient traditions and folkloric way of life decorated the national scene.

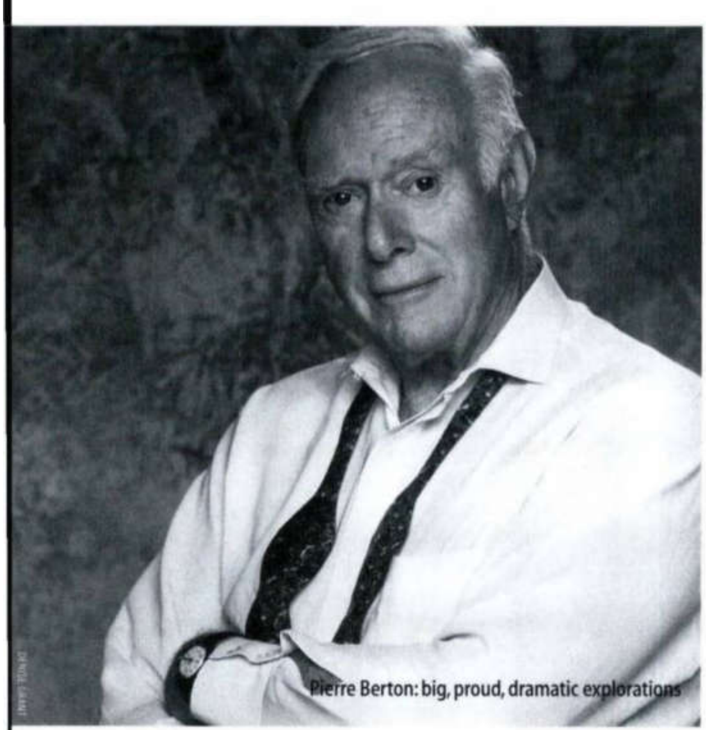
Canadian-British relations? No problems intruded here. For Wrong, the British conquest had brought liberty to Canada, and the achievement of Responsible Government had made it secure.

Canadian political issues? Wrong was proud of his place in the moderate, dignified, successful Reform tradition of Ontario. He celebrated a creed that looked back to Robert Baldwin and came down through Wrong's father-in-law, Liberal leader Edward Blake, to Wilfrid Laurier's government. Here lay the bedrock of the George Wrong version of Canadian history: Canada's story was a story of successful political reform, of a steady movement toward greater self-government, greater freedom.

No historian in the later course of the twentieth century would achieve a more calm, untroubled synthesis of Canadian history than George Wrong did right at the start. He was the historian for Laurier's world, for that bright, promising moment at the dawn of the century when the twentieth century was going to belong to Canada, when sunny ways would melt all conflicts into harmony.

George Wrong ... was the historian for Laurier's world, for that bright, promising moment at the dawn of the century ... when sunny ways would melt all conflicts into harmony.

George Wrong was the first full-time professor of Canadian history, and his academic heirs have seen in him a break from the past, the first "real" historian of Canada. If we put aside the special pleading of the university departments, however, Wrong hardly seems a lonely prophet. Instead, he sits comfortably atop a throng of his contemporaries, simply the best-fed, best-tailored, and most eminent representative of an early flowering of historical storytelling in Canada.



Pierre Berton: big, proud, dramatic explorations

We mostly assume today that Canadian culture was born sometime about 1970. Yet in the early years of this century, almost everyone in English Canada seems to have been writing, reading, and publishing. Many writers, editors, and publishers shared George Wrong's sense that a heroic past could inspire the present and help prepare the future.

There must have been an audience, for there were certainly publishers. In 1903 the Toronto publisher George Morang launched an ambitious twenty-volume series, The Makers of Canada. His competitor Robert Glasgow responded with The Chronicles of Canada in thirty-two handsome volumes, and the even more ambitious twenty-three-volume anthology Canada and Its Provinces. (Chronicles proved so successful that Glasgow moved south to launch Chronicles of America in fifty volumes.) Archivists, often supported by the new federal and provincial archives, published multi-volume selections of Loyalist claims, War of 1812 records, Confederation papers, and diplomatic and financial records. Historical essays and stories found steady markets in magazines like *Canadian Monthly*, *Dominion Illustrated*, and *The Week*.

And writers! "Down the lake came Chauncey rolling – Isaac Chauncey, the broad-beamed old Yankee Commodore, sore as a baited bear from his last brush off Burlington with Sir James Lucas Yeo," wrote C.H.J. Snider, a Toronto sailor and folklorist and the Pierre Berton of his day, in 1913. In his collections of Canadian sea stories, Snider poured out that kind of heart-pounding adventure and salty nautical phrasing. He was just one of many writers seizing on the colourful, mythmaking potential of the Canadian past.

Meanwhile, Sarah Curzon, a Toronto poet and woman's suffrage activist, "discovered" Laura Secord and made her a Canadian heroine. Agnes Machar of Kingston, Ontario, celebrated the noble pioneers in *Stories of New France* and *Stories from Canadian History*. Like many of their contemporaries, Machar and Curzon moved easily among fiction, poetry, and history. The moral lessons of Canadian history could be taught in novels or rhymed couplets as well as in essays; indeed, the historical novel stood at the centre of Canadian literary achievement. Gilbert Parker's *The Seats of the Mighty*, about the siege of Quebec, Charles G.D. Roberts's Acadian stories, and Ralph Connor's *Glengarry School Days* and *The Sky Pilot*, were popular bestsellers around the turn of the century. All drew contemporary moral lessons from the colourful Canadian past.

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Sarah A. Curzon, 1891:
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Judge Daniel Prowse:
regional history of substantial scholarship

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Most of the writing about history that Canada supported at the start of this century sheltered under the comfortable, reassuring nationalism that Wrong expressed so well. But it could accommodate points of view that George Wrong himself would not have welcomed. Gustavus Myers's muckraking *History of Canadian Wealth* must have appalled him, and Sarah Curzon's linking of historical argument with feminism and woman's suffrage would have been almost equally alien.

Regions other than Toronto had their historians too. In 1911, Alwyn Bramley-Moore's *Canada and Her Colonies: Or Home Rule for Alberta* sketched out a western-grievance history that foreshadowed Ted Byfield's multivolume Alberta in the Twentieth Century of the 1980s and 1990s. Judge Daniel Prowse's opinionated *History of Newfoundland* was a much more substantial piece of scholarship than anything George Wrong attempted. (Prowse and his big book have remained central to Newfoundland's sense of itself; they turn up as characters in *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*, Wayne Johnson's recent novel of Joey Smallwood.) Even a centrally produced collection like Canada and Its Provinces emphasized provincial rights and made a virtue out of regional diversity.

Simply to know that so much writing and thinking about Canada was going on a full century ago might reassure those who worry about Canadian culture. One might think that the historical writers of that lively, ambitious period could stimulate and entertain anyone seeking an uplifting encounter with Canadian history in a time of national uncertainty.

Instead, to try to read George Wrong today is to realize why hardly anyone does. Wrong lived into the 1940s, but his sunny Edwardian take on the history of Canada never had a chance against the horrors of the First World War, the unsettling '20s, and the economic catastrophe of the '30s. His historical work, and that of his contemporaries, now seems quite unreadably quaint.

The bold confidence of those early writers now strikes us as simply bigoted. They all condescended to French Canada, and native peoples and racial minorities existed for them only in appalling stereotypes. Their blithe con-

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fidence that British people should rule the world, and that Canada had solved all its problems, makes us skeptical. They were so alarmingly eager to drive home every Victorian homily that they strike us as sentimental moralizers. Their overstuffed prose grates on us.

And often what they wrote was not good history. Their documentary base was often thin, so writer after writer repeated the same stories. We might expect no more from an amateur writer in a small town isolated from historical sources and writing for the newspapers – which was essentially the situation of the prolific freelancer Agnes Machar of Kingston. But the histories of the respected, influential, professorial George Wrong are little different. Wrong had created a hierarchy of status and authority among the historians of his era and put university professors firmly atop the pyramid. But a matching hierarchy of talent can hardly be discerned.

Our history at 1950: Donald Creighton

By the time George Wrong died in 1948, his vision of the university taking control of Canadian history seemed vindicated. The 1950s saw the emergence of Canadian history professors whose formidable skills, and whose access to archival sources, to ideas, and to funding sources, enabled them to put their predecessors permanently in the shade. In professors like William L. Morton, Maurice Careless, Margaret Ormsby, Kenneth McNaught, and above all Donald Creighton, Canada could take pride in a corps of historians the originality of whose work and the extent of whose influence has never been matched.

Of these, Donald Creighton was preeminent. The craggy, austere, judgmental, and hardworking son of a Methodist minister from Toronto, Creighton shared little of George Wrong's social and cultural pretensions, and his ambitions, both literary and historical, were much more substantial. In place of George Wrong's already-crumbling story of Canadian history, Creighton created a new narrative of the national story.

Wrong had stood upon the traditional view that Canadian history had begun with an inheritance of British liberties and had continued with a series of constitutional achievements that made Canadians ever more free. He had emphasized the evolution of government, and his heroes were the political leaders, mostly on the liberal side, who took new steps in that process.

Creighton's Laurentian empire linked European money and markets to the resources of half a continent, under the tutelage of merchants and brokers in eastern Canadian cities.

Creighton hooted at all that. It was all boring and stupid, he suggested. Who could care, he asked, about Robert Responsible Government or William Lyon Mackenzie National-Sovereignty? For his part, Creighton began his new story far from the constitutional table. His argument was rooted in the presumption that history was not driven by ideas, about freedom or anything else. National destiny was driven by economics and geography, thought Creighton. Canada was built on economic geography, raw power, and visionary leadership.

The story Creighton built on those foundations became known as "the Laurentian thesis." Its heroes were the empire-builders and entrepreneurs, first French, then British, then Canadian-born, who built the east-west economic system upon which a society could grow.* Fish and furs, then timber and wheat, fed into that sys-

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*Quebec, of course, has had its own, rather different, set of historians. Until about 1960 the representative historian of Quebec would have been a priest or nun preaching the lesson that traditional religion and traditional agriculture were the God-given destiny of the French-Canadian people. After that, Quebec rapidly developed a highly skilled corps of secular historians. In recent decades, one school of Quebec historians has held that Quebec's particular historical evolution has made a unique society (and therefore, some would add, destined to independence). The rival school holds that Quebec is actually a "normal" society, not significantly different from the rest of the western world (and therefore, some would add, destined to evolve normally into independence).

THE
PIERRE BERTON
AWARD

Canada's National History Society established an award in 1994 for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history. Canadian writer and popular author, Pierre Berton, was the first recipient. Mr. Berton agreed to having his name associated with the award in subsequent years.

In addition to Mr. Berton, other recipients of the Award are:

James H. Gray, Calgary, 1995
Jacques Lacoursière, Quebec City, 1996
The CRB Foundation, Montreal, 1997
Bob Johnstone, Toronto, 1998
Peter C. Newman, British Columbia, 1999

Individuals or organizations that have helped popularize Canadian history, through such means as publications, film, radio and television, theatre or volunteer service may be nominated.

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2000 Pierre Berton Award. In addition to a name and address of the nominee, nominations must be accompanied by detailed information in support of the candidate. A biography or curriculum vitae, newspaper or magazine articles, or letters of support outlining the achievements of the nominee would be welcome.

Nominations for the 2000 Pierre Berton Award must be received by May 26, 2000 and should be sent to:

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tem. Beginning with birchbark canoes and growing to continent-spanning railroads, Creighton's Laurentian empire linked European money and markets to the resources of half a continent, under the tutelage of merchants and brokers in eastern Canadian cities.

All this might have been a numbing treatise in economic theory. (How numbing? Consult the works of Creighton's colleague, Harold Adams Innis.) But Creighton could do more than conceive big theory. He had the skills and the drive for the historical work that pinned down the persuasive details. And he wrote narrative that could make economic determinism sing and dance. In any case, he never neglected political history. His finest pages were devoted to John A. Macdonald who forged a political system to suit the Laurentian world. History, Creighton said, was character and circumstance, and he lavished his talents on the great character who understood the Canadian circumstance as he did.

In his prime, when he wrote *The Empire of the St Lawrence, John A. Macdonald*, and *The Road to Confederation*, Creighton's work was great story, great writing, great history. It was as political in its way as Wrong's had been. But where Wrong had celebrated Canadian rights and freedoms and worshipped at the way stations of constitutional progress, Creighton's Canadian politics were all about power and leadership and authority. Creighton's heroes were the visionary elite who understood the Laurentian system and guarded it against dissidents, democrats, and small-thinking regionalists at every turn.

Creighton's rewrite of Canada's story proved spectacularly successful, and his vision helped fuel a conservative revival. It inspired, among other things, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's discovery of a passionate identification with John A. Macdonald. Creighton nailed down the conviction that John A. Macdonald had made Canada – and that Canada was fundamentally a Tory creation. Even today, much of what "everyone knows" about Canadian history is bits and pieces of the Creighton version.

Our history at 2000

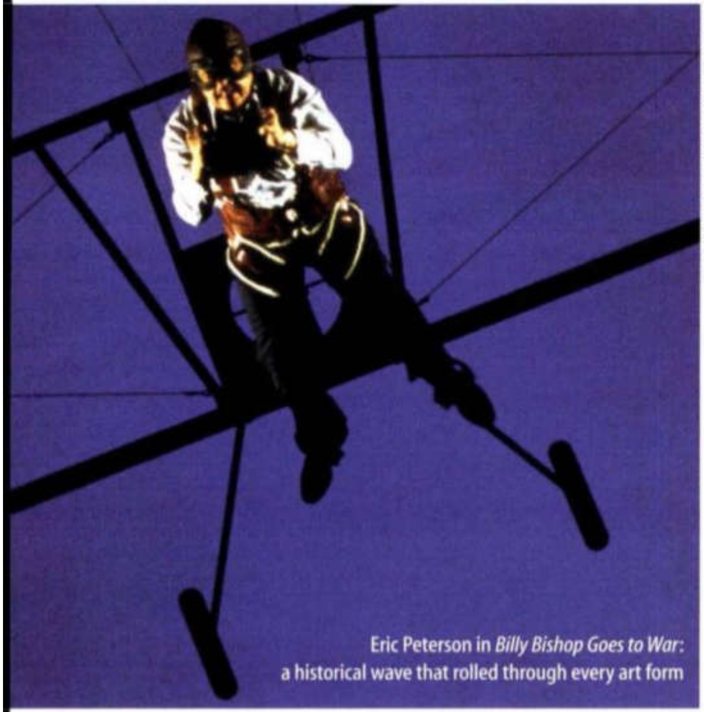
If George Wrong incarnated English-Canadian historical writing at 1900 and Creighton did the same at 1950, who might represent our history at 2000?

The last thirty years have been the era of Pierre Berton. Berton was no history professor – indeed he was often cheerfully scornful of them. Neither a minister nor a minister's son, he had written iconoclastic books about organized religion during his career as a vigorous, breezy, and opinionated journalist. When he took up history writing, Berton wrote big colourful stories of people doing great things: gold-rush miners, railroad builders, War of 1812 soldiers, prairie settlers, Arctic explorers. Berton found Canadian history full of great stories, and he wanted to tell them all. Canadians devoured them as fast as he wrote them.

Berton's big, proud, dramatic explorations in the past returned the Canadian story triumphantly to the bestseller lists, and many imitators clambered onboard Berton's railway. The bestseller lists soon included Barry Broadfoot's remarkable oral histories, Peter Newman's history of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, more recently, lively narratives by David Cruise and Alison Griffiths. Today floods of books on local and national history emerge from the publishers every year. Berton himself recalled that he had once made a fifty-six-episode television series, *My Country*, about Canadian historical moments, "and by now I think someone has written a book about every one of those topics."

Filmmakers grew eager to make history themselves – and gave us documentaries of notable power and integrity, amid a great deal of more saccharine work. By the 1990s, a television network devoted exclusively to history had joined the specialty channels, and the CBC had announced that it would mark the millennium with the most expansive and expensive project in its history, a televised "People's History of Canada."

The same historical wave rolled through every art form. In the 1970s and 1980s, plays on historical themes – *The Farmers' Revolt, Billy Bishop Goes to*



Eric Peterson in *Billy Bishop Goes to War*: a historical wave that rolled through every art form

DAVID COOPER, PHOTOGRAPHER / MANITOBA THEATRE CENTRE

War, *Ten Lost Years*—enlivened Canadian theatres. By the 1990s, many of Canada's leading novelists had returned to historical themes. Novels as various as Jane Urquhart's *Away*, about Irish immigrants, Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace*, set in the Upper Canada of the 1840s, and Guy Vanderhaege's *The Englishman's Boy*, on the mystique of the prairie cowboy, all commanded literary and popular esteem, not only in Canada but internationally. The preservation of heritage architecture became a serious object of public policy, and Canada built a network of museums and historic sites that gave Canadians abundant opportunities for tangible contact with the Canadian past.

At first glance, academic work in Canadian history seemed equally prosperous and diverse. The extraordinary postwar growth of universities had given employment to Canadian history professors by the hundreds, and they undertook a vast expansion of academic scholarship on Canadian history, rapidly dividing their field into scores of specialist subsets. Scholars had come to accept the dignity and importance of First Nations history, of women's history, of minority, multicultural, regional, immigrant, and class histories. They explored new methods in social history, economic history, intellectual history, cultural history, business history, military history. Ambitious collaborative enterprises and a plethora of online history websites indicated the wealth of historical resources and the abundance of scholarly funding.

Could there be any subject left untold, unfilmed, undigitized for downloading? Were these the very best of times for Canadian history? Evidently not. In 1997, a book called *Who Killed Canadian History?* produced a surging response among Canadians frustrated with all that late twentieth history was not.

Its author, Jack Granatstein, was himself a plausible candidate as the 2000 equivalent of Wrong in 1900 or Creighton in 1950. Prolific, personable, and astonishingly productive, Granatstein was full of vigorous opinions, adept at public debate, frequently quoted in the media. Yet *Who Killed Canadian History?* was a cry of despair.

Granatstein did not quite deny there was lots of Canadian history about. But little of it interested or satisfied him. Academic or "popular," most of it struck him as fluff and trivia at best, and positively dangerous at worst. It was his argument that Canada was at heart a political nation, created and preserved by political will. Historians might study and write about anything, but ultimately the one great public purpose that Granatstein acknowledged for the historian in Canada was to help Canadians see their place in civic society—to teach the political history of the Canadian nation. For Granatstein this was the history that had died, the mission that his fellows had abandoned or betrayed.

Granatstein pointed a hundred fingers: at bureaucrats, at social historians, at special-interest groups marketing their grievances, at lazy, trendy teachers, at crass popularizers, at ignoramuses in the media. All the positive recommendations

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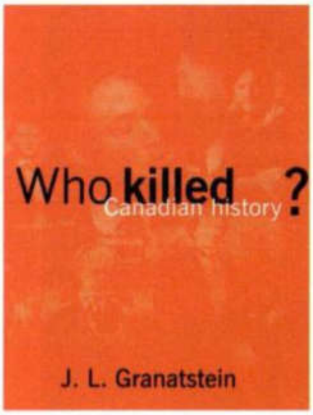
in his polemic, however, were demands for more federal spending on "his" kind of history. In an era when governments were eagerly retreating from all their cultural roles, Granatstein still called on the state to save the country, by funding more research, writing, and teaching by Granatstein's colleagues in political history.

The one great public purpose that Granatstein acknowledged for the historian in Canada was to help Canadians see their place in civic society – to teach the political history of the Canadian nation.



Oddly, given the vital importance Granatstein ascribed to political historians, they were the one group spared from scrutiny in *Who Killed Canadian History?* Granatstein eloquently denounced the inadequate attention and funding he considered they got. But readers of Canadian history might be forgiven for thinking that what our political historians really needed was not some new government patronage but some new ideas.

Granatstein's insight into the enduring centrality of political history was acute. George Wrong had incarnated the historians of Canada in 1900 because he expressed a big, coherent view of how history shaped the Canadian nation. Creighton's point of view in 1950 turned Wrong's upside down – but it too was a big, coherent view, well attuned to its time.

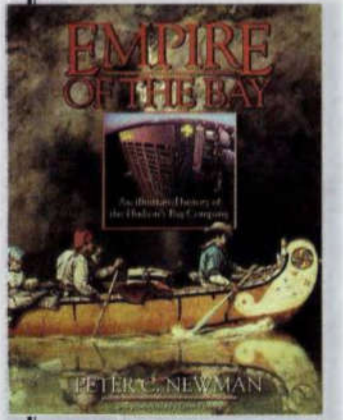
No one had offered an equivalent "big narrative" that spoke to the year 2000. Granatstein himself had produced a shelf of books, but there was no overarching Granatstein thesis to match the Wrong or Creighton versions. By the end of 1999, our textbooks of political history and the historical summaries in political science and civics texts were still mostly rehashes of Creighton

Unhappily, Creighton doesn't really serve us well anymore. The urgent issues in Canadian political society today do not grow from an economy shaped by the Laurentian drainage basis. Autocratic leadership from the centre seems less and less the answer Canada needs. Yet when scholars and intellectuals look for Canadian political traditions, they still turn to Creighton – and learn that this country was founded on colonial deference, social hierarchy, centralized authority, aphilosophical deal-making, and fear of democracy as an alien and American threat. Since not even conservatives celebrate those values any more, Creighton mostly authorizes Canadians to repudiate our history as something to escape from. Paradoxically, our greatest political historian now mostly teaches that our political history has nothing useful to teach us.

Diversity, democracy, regionalism, representation – the issues that exercise Canadians when we curse Ottawa and struggle with constitutional proposals – are the kind of historical problems that George Wrong liked to think about and Creighton dismissed as boring and stupid. Granatstein may be right about our need for political history, but no political historian has yet reexcavated the older monuments buried under Creighton's bulldozing brilliance. Wrong, even though he handled the great classical issues of political history superficially and complacently, did assert that rights and liberties and representative government were important issues in Canadian history. Since Creighton, few historians have thought to reopen such questions. As a result, they have had little to offer about the issues that have most challenged recent Canadian politics.

Our prime ministers have frequently told us that Canada is a hard country to govern. It has also been a hard country to fit into a lasting historical synthesis. But Alexander Solzhenitsyn once said that a great writer creates his own audience. Wrong and his peers, hardly great writers, did something like that around 1900. They expressed a view of Canada that defined their audience's sense of it and of themselves. Creighton, surely the greatest historical writer English Canada has seen, achieved a similar feat at a much higher level in the 1950s.

On the eve of the millennium, Canadian history was lively, diverse, popular, and successful. Reports of its imminent collapse had been around for at least a century and could be laughed off. But that great nation-defining assignment was still open to be seized the way George Wrong and Donald Creighton each seized it in their day. ▣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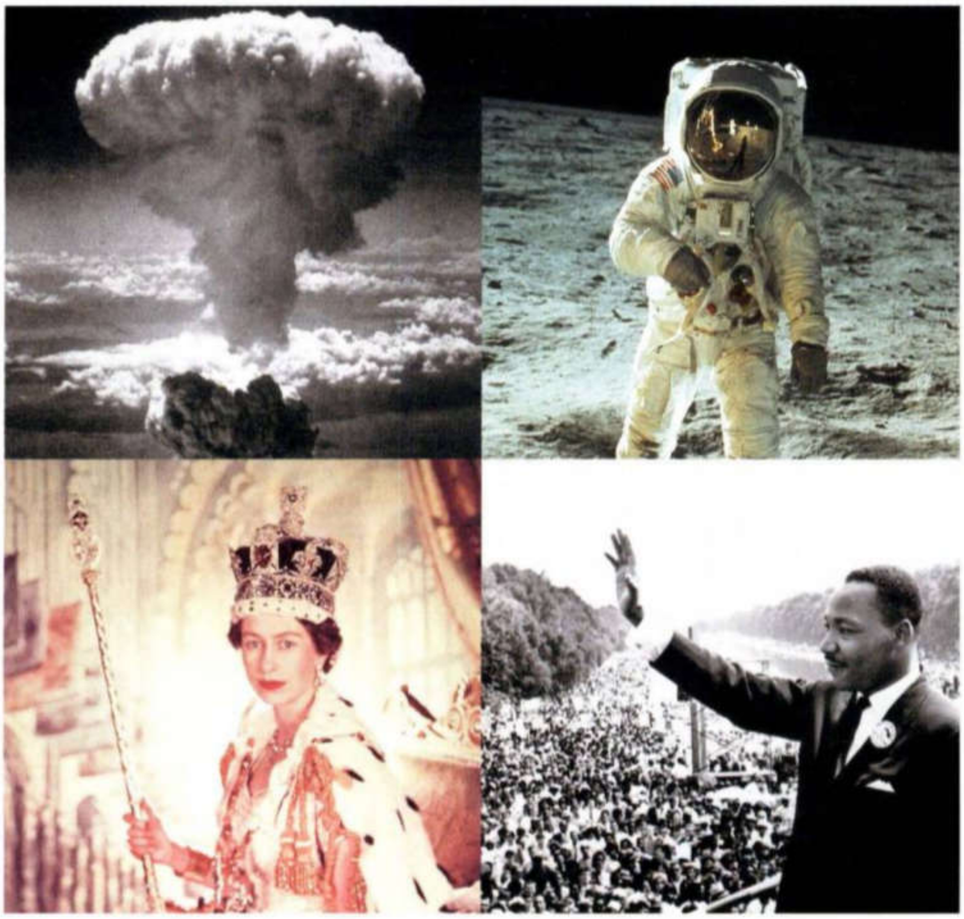

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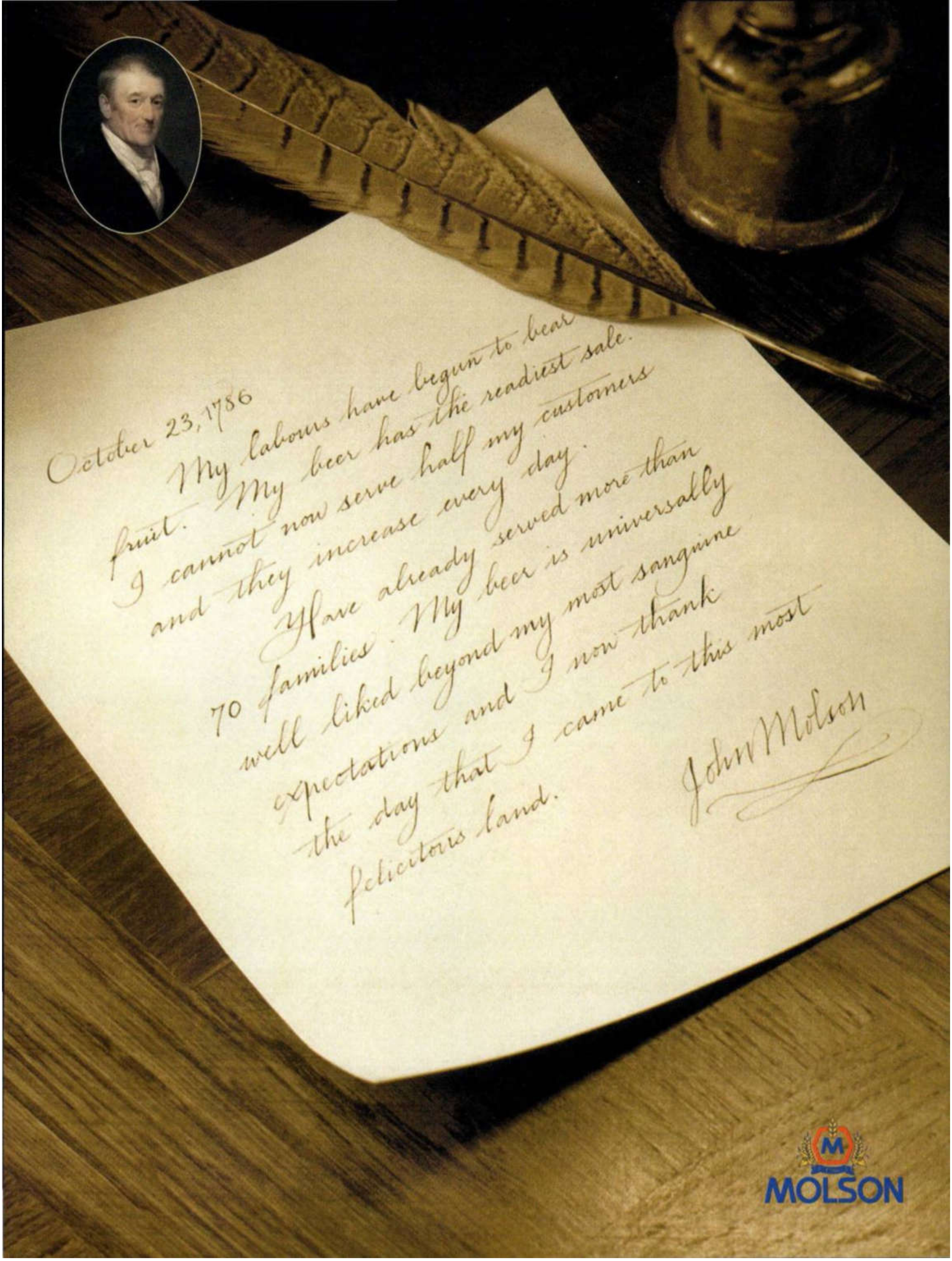

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